

Anglican Theological Review

EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT AND BURTON S. EASTON

Founded by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME XVI

APRIL, 1934

NUMBER 2

THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH

WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT IS EXERCISED

*The Anglican View**

By FREDERICK C. GRANT, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary

Perhaps the first step in our inquiry, before undertaking to assert or expound any particular theory of ecclesiastical authority, ought to be a consideration of what that authority is and amounts to in actual practice. At the present time we find a variety of attitudes and practices among Christians, generally classifiable into three, and characteristic of the three main groups into which present-day believers are tending to gather: (1) There are those for whom a positive and definite authority in matters of faith or morals—or both—is a primary desideratum of the religious (i.e. Christian) life. The fundamentals of the faith are not open to question, since they rest upon the infallible and indefectible authority either of divine revelation (so the "Fundamentalists"), or of a divine institution ordained to be the authoritative interpreter of revelation and the living organ or voice of the self-same divine Spirit who made the revelation, inspired the prophets and

* A paper read to the Wranglers' Club, Chicago, Jan. 22, 1934.

the sacred writers, and thereafter safeguarded the revelation in this positive way (so the Roman Catholics, and others who share in some degree the same outlook).

(2) At the opposite extreme are those who minimize all external, objective authority, and appeal to the deliverances of the inner conscience as the sole guide of the individual, or to the general Christian consciousness as the only authority in matters of corporate belief, and in general rely upon what today is usually called religious experience—i.e. the direct, immediate experience of the individual in his religious life (so the "Liberals," whether members of the so-called "Free" churches, e.g. the Congregational, Baptist, etc., or "Modernists" in the Roman or Anglican Churches).

(3) Mediating between these extremes is the attitude of those who recognize a certain limited amount of authority in religious matters; viewing the Bible either as a kind of inspired handbook or guide to the religious life, though scarcely a verbally and uniformly inspired sacred oracle, or else as the fascinating and uniquely important record of a wonderful religious evolution, up from primitive paganism through Hebraism and Judaism to early Christianity; and recognizing the Church as the one institution in the world that preserves this great religious tradition of faith and practice—a tradition lying at the very heart of modern civilization—and the one comprehensive agency for the propagation in the modern world of this Christian faith and its cognate ethical ideal (so, with varying degrees of emphasis, perhaps the majority of Protestant, i.e. non-Roman-Catholic, Christians, in America and Great Britain, on the Continent, and in the Mission field).

Among Anglicans, who seem to specialize, above all other communions, in variety of religious outlook and diversity of theological views, it would not be difficult to find groups who approximate in attitude all three of these general classifications: the Anglo-Catholics at one extreme, the Modernists and Liberal churchmen at the other, the Evangelicals and Moderates or "Prayer Book Churchmen" in between—though some of the Evangelicals still hold an ultra-conservative view of biblical

inspiration and authority that affiliates them naturally with the first group: their "oracular" view of scripture is closely parallel to the "oracular" view of ecclesiastical authority held by extreme Anglo-Catholics. No doubt similar if not equal diversity of outlook may be discovered within the borders of each of the major Christian churches or communions—excepting, of course, the Roman Church, though even from Rome come hints, from time to time, of views and attitudes not strictly compatible with the dogma of infallibility.

Among Anglicans, the majority of whom no doubt hold what I have described as the third or mediating position, there is a general recognition of ecclesiastical authority as operative in three spheres: in the language of the Preface to the Prayer Book, these are "doctrine, discipline, and worship." (1) In doctrine, the all-but-exclusive expression of this authority is the Prayer Book itself, which contains the Creeds, the Catechism, the Offices of Instruction, and the Ordination services; it also makes many a statement of or allusion to various Christian doctrines in the different forms of worship it sets forth—e.g. the Proper Prefaces in the Holy Communion; and in general applies the ancient rule, *lex orandi est lex credendi*. Whether or not the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion are a component part of the Book of Common Prayer is a debated question—one that not even the learned Liturgical Commission of the General Convention has ever been able to settle. Nor did even the General Convention assembled in Washington in 1928, when the Revised Prayer Book was adopted, succeed in answering the question: the Milwaukeeans were sure it was only a historical accident that the Articles had even been bound up between the same covers with the Prayer Book; the Virginians insisted that the Articles were an integral part of the book of worship, and useful not only for private meditation and instruction but even for missionary purposes—one man testified that he had been won to the Episcopal Church by reading the Articles!—For my own part, I believe the Articles were meant to be a part of the Prayer Book, as a kind of historical appendix, setting forth the consensus of Anglican doctrine in the sixteenth

century so far as it related to certain extravagant interpretations of Christian belief then current; but requiring at the present time a considerable amount of revision or at least of critical interpretation to be acceptable or useful as a statement of the Church's doctrine: and requiring, likewise, much supplementation and correction, of the kind the Prayer Book itself is quite adequate to supply.

As for the Creeds, it is noteworthy that the American Episcopal Church omits the so-called Athanasian, and uses only the so-called Apostles' and Nicene—the one, in reality, the English version of the mediæval form of the old Roman symbol, in use in the West as a baptismal profession from about A.D. 150; and the other, in reality, not the "Nicene" Creed at all, but rather one version of the Constantinopolitan Creed of 381,¹ though assuredly setting forth "Nicene" doctrine, with some additions, just as the "Apostles' Creed" sets forth, in a general way, the "apostolic" doctrines—with some marked additions and omissions!—It ought also to be added that the American Church requires no subscription to the Articles of Religion on the part of clergy or ordinands; such a requirement, first made in 1571 "in the interests of the Puritans" (Bicknell, p. 25), still obtains in the Church of England, and, I believe, in some other Anglican Churches, though in the English Church, since 1867, or thereabouts, the subscription is merely "general"—i.e., I suppose, to the spirit or aim or general drift of their statements; something at any rate quite compatible with thorough-going historical criticism, as such modern commentaries and text-books as those of Kidd, Bicknell, and Gibson amply demonstrate. The only subscription required by clergy in the American Episcopal Church is to "the doctrine, discipline, and worship" of the Church, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, in the Bible, and in the Constitution and Canons of the Church; while the only vows are those prescribed in the questions and answers of the Form and Order for Ordaining Deacons and Priests, or for consecrating Bishops, contained in the Prayer Book. The limited extent of required doctrinal

¹ Derived probably from Jerusalem: see Bicknell, *Articles*, p. 203.

subscription is a cause of surprise to many—both Catholics and Protestants—reading the Ordinal or hearing the service for the first time. Instead of an elaborate theological affirmation, the candidate for the priesthood promises simply not to teach as “necessary to salvation” any doctrines that cannot be proved by Holy Scripture—a somewhat negative position, and certainly a characteristic Anglican compromise! Elizabeth and her ministers, Charles and his counsellors, had clergy on their hands who ranged all the way from forcibly reformed Romanists, of much the same persuasion still, to Lutherans and Calvinists in stole and surplice; and later there were Latitudinarians and Deists as well. A “comprehensive” church could not behave like a sect, and set up theological opinions as criteria of orthodoxy. It was of course assumed that *all* Christians, clergy and laity alike, accepted the Creeds and Catechism, and the general doctrinal position of the Book of Common Prayer; and that if a man could and would use this book his doctrinal views would probably be sufficiently sound.

Not that in the long years since Henry and Elizabeth, Edward and the Charleses, there have not been efforts to set up more rigid tests; but they have never succeeded. And it is well that they have not; for the rigid tests of one generation or group soon become antiquated, and provide more obstacles than helps to the life of the Christian spirit and to the activities of the Christian mind. Church History is littered with the remains of such attempted monopolies and exclusive trade-agreements carried over into the realm of faith. Religion is primarily a life in God, in union with the divine Spirit through obedience and love; its highest expressions are found in worship and in the mutual services of brotherhood or fellowship. Theology, the systematic exposition and correlation of the ideas implicit in divine worship and in brotherly fellowship, is secondary—as Inge says, for the same reason that the heart is biologically older than the head; i.e. it is involved in the very nature of man, however the doughty theological contestants of former generations would have altered the fact had they been able! At any rate, the *general* Anglican attitude has been to seek for unity in worship—not for uniformity,

which is a very different quality, and scarcely compatible with the freedom and variety of Anglican usages; and to seek for doctrinal unity in very simple and basic articles of Christian belief rather than in an enforced conformity to some elaborate theological construction, fashioned either at Augsburg or Zürich, at Rome or Westminster or even at Lambeth.

(2) In matters of discipline, Anglicans find the authority of the Church expressed in the Constitution and Canons of the Church, in the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, and in the general customs and observances and standards of the Christian fellowship. True, these are by no means exhaustive, and do not cover all possible or conceivable situations in human life. Some among us lament this fact. The Canon Law of the Episcopal Church—a body of law now scarcely over a century and a half old—does not begin to compare in extent with the Roman, or even with that of the Church of England, which dates back to Pre-reformation times, and has enjoyed a centuries-long process of development. There are those who argue that the Canon Law of the Church of England is still in force in this Church, except where our canons expressly state another position or by implication involve the revision or abrogation of the English law—somewhat as in certain departments of civil law it is argued that the Common Law of England still obtains in the United States. Some would even go so far as to maintain that the old Roman Canon Law is implied by English Canon Law, and must be invoked to cover cases not dealt with explicitly in the Canons of the mother Church. But it is very doubtful if the majority of Anglicans in this country hold any such view, or feel any constraint to observe even English Canon Law where our own canons are silent.

Or take our Moral Theology. Professor Kirk of Oxford has pointed out that Anglican casuistry practically came to an end with Jeremy Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*. What is needed most, in Anglican Moral Theology today, is to bring its casuistry up to date; i.e. to discuss modern problems and if possible to solve them from the standpoint of Christian ethics, and with the added

light of present-day knowledge of human nature, both individual and social. Here also are found those who would supply this lack, due to a frustrated development, by appeal to the comprehensive and thorough treatment of cases of conscience by modern Roman moral theologians—and, some would add, by making use of treatises on social ethics by certain Protestant authors. Certainly something should be done to supply the considerable absence of concrete and explicit counselling in questions of morals, especially in view of the widespread uncertainty—not only among the laity—of the precise content and extent of a Christian's duty in the vexatious situations in which men and women, boys and girls, find themselves today. But whether or not the provision of this lack is to be sought, even temporarily, from this quarter, is a question upon which there is no agreement at present. As Kirk points out, there is much we can learn from Roman authors; but their general system and their general attitude is too continental, *too* Roman, and in some respects too archaic to make such wholesale borrowing a practicable or a valuable expedient.

I wish quite frankly to admit that there are lacunæ in our system, lacunæ which some Anglicans deplore, but which to others seem thoroughly natural and inevitable, indeed wholesome and reasonable. There are Anglicans who maintain that "the Church teaches" many things which one cannot find in either the Prayer Book rubrics or in the Canon Law: e.g. the duty of fasting communion. Their appeal, of course, is to the requirements set forth in the Pre-reformation Church—though even here, as Dr. Percy Dearmer has proved, there is no consistent or really very ancient rule. Or else they appeal to the regulations of the Roman Church, identical in their view, as is often the case, with the customs and requirements of the "Western" Church—i.e. all that part of the Church Catholic that is non-Greek, non-Oriental. A better appeal would be to the unwritten law or general custom of the Church, and to the actual, demonstrable values, if any, found in the observance here and now. And many of us would readily agree that, for adults in normal good health, the rule is a salutary one, if not made a fetish, and not observed to the detri-

ment or neglect of far more important rules of the Christian life, e.g. the counsel of humility, or the law of charity. One might indeed argue, as I should be inclined to do, that the practice has much *more* value when adopted as a pious custom, for the sake of the immediate good it produces, than when observed as a "rule" or "law" of the Church—which "law" some of us are wholly unable to discover or identify.

Here again the authority of the Church, as it affects the actual life and practice of Anglicans, is a very simple and severely limited authority. Its limitations in the field of discipline are similar to those in the area of doctrine. And though I for one believe that there is great need today, throughout the Protestant world, for more concreteness and explicitness in moral teaching and guidance; and that the old notion a baptized or converted Christian may safely be left more or less to his own devices, i.e. to his own interpretation of the will of God, is a theory that is colossally disproved in actual experience; still I feel quite certain that "the freedom of the Christian man," a principle dear to St. Paul, for example, is and must be everlastingly valid. Christians cannot be developed out of moral robots. The free conscience is indispensable in a mature and completely Christian character. But it must be an educated and enlightened conscience. And it is certainly no way to secure an educated and enlightened conscience to deprive youth of explicit Christian teaching and guidance, turn them loose to experiment with life, and then wonder why tragedies result.

With so severely limited a system of authority, it is a great mistake to confuse doctrinal or disciplinary authority with merely administrative, or vice versa. The authority of a bishop, e.g., like that of a priest, is strictly limited, and thoroughly constitutional. In fact, much of a bishop's superior authority is purely administrative. Real cases of discipline—what is technically a "disciplining" of a clergyman or layman—are rare, and take place only by a regular process outlined in the canons. No bishop or priest may excommunicate anyone without due process and for grave cause, viz. open scandal in the congregation. Nine

times out of ten, and oftener even than that, a far milder and more effective course is pursued—as everyone knows who has any acquaintance with the Episcopal Church. It is the letter that kills; the spirit giveth life—and a wise bishop or priest is no less a pastor, a shepherd, when exercising his proper and inescapable disciplinary authority than when he is baptizing a baby or presenting or confirming a Confirmation Class. I for one do not lament the simplicity and incompleteness of our canons and rubrics. The greatest thing about Anglicanism is its *spirit*, as that is the greatest thing about any institution, or any man. And I cannot see how a multitude of rules could possibly create that spirit if it were lacking, or even greatly safeguard it once it is really alive and dominant; for spirit, by its very nature, is creative, and self-perpetuating, and really contagious. The Anglican Church has got on very well with a very simple code. Many of us have a real conviction that to multiply rules might be to risk a crushing out of the free spirit, and the substitution of something mechanical for what is essentially human and free—and is glorious because it is both!

(3) Time fails us to deal with authority in worship. Fortunately, this has already been partly dealt with, under authority in doctrine. What it comes to is this: the worship we offer is the Church's worship, not our own individual aspiration, praise, petition, or thanksgiving merely. Hence the Church, the great maintainer of the Christian tradition, sets forth a liturgy and offices of prayer which we gladly use. Their language is unsurpassed in all the literature of devotion of our race, their thought sublime, their form and substance alike among the most precious inheritances of the Christian world. The Church was here before I came along, and will be here long after I have passed on; when I use her prayers I am kneeling down beside the saints and the humble of many generations, amid the faithful gathered beside the martyrs' tombs in the catacombs, side by side with the good men and women whose fidelity and sacrifices built York Minster and Chartres, or with those who lived loyally by, and patiently and boldly thought out, and died nobly for their faith

in days long gone; not only that, but I unite with all the countless host of my fellow believers in all the world who today say those same prayers; and I can even imagine men a hundred, a thousand years hence kneeling among us with the same prayers upon their lips, in God's great household, in Christ's everlasting Kingdom. Am I constrained by an authority which decrees that I must say just these prayers and no others? Not all all. I say any prayers I please—even in public worship. But must I not obtain episcopal permission to use such prayers? Certainly, if I intend to *substitute* other prayers or services—my own, or anyone's—for the services of the Prayer Book. And this is a good rule, for it safeguards the congregation's right to their own liturgy, and protects them from the individual minister's caprice—or, even worse, free-lance liturgiology! There is a kind of capricious freedom in worship that most human beings find, after a while, to be frightfully monotonous; from the ravages of clerical individualism a Prayer Book is a mighty bulwark of defense—and I am not throwing stones, for we have the same tendencies as other men, albeit our collars button in back; only, the Prayer Book is a useful check, and we know it!

It would be interesting to study the present state of ecclesiastical authority, not only in Anglicanism but in all our churches, from a thoroughly historical point of view, and see how it came to be, how it developed, how it gradually declined from its mediæval eminence and universality, how its present forms are but vestiges of its earlier ubiquity—and why it survives in one form here, another there. But that is a subject for another occasion—or series of occasions, since it is a huge subject.

All I have tried to state is what ecclesiastical authority actually is, in the practical life and active work of the Anglican Church, i.e. the Episcopal Church, here in America, and to show, at least with some degree of intelligent understanding, how it is exercised, and why. But I have not ventured on any *theory* of authority. That is another subject still!

THE PLACE OF MYSTICISM IN WORSHIP

By THEODORE BELL, All Souls' Episcopal Church, Berkeley, California *

Let us first enquire what we mean by the words "mysticism" and "worship." They have been used in many ways and we shall do well to heed Dr Johnson's counsel, "Gentlemen, define your terms, it shortens controversy."

By "worship" I shall mean those corporate acts and customs wherein and whereby the Western Church has sought, or should seek, to honour God, to appreciate His "worth," to conform itself to and to forward His purposes.

What do we mean by "mysticism"? It is unnecessary at this day to affirm that we do not mean to include within this term the varied phenomena studied by the Society for Psychical Research. Nor would one accept as wholly adequate the delightful definition in my old edition of Webster's dictionary. Mysticism, it is there said, means "obscurity of doctrine." If we accept Heiler's definition of mysticism in his great work on *Prayer*¹ our discussion is ended. He says, "Mysticism is that form of intercourse with God in which the world and self are absolutely denied, in which human personality is dissolved, disappears and is absorbed in the infinite unity of the Godhead." If Heiler is right and mysticism is absorption, then mysticism has no place in truly Christian worship. Absorption is the goal of Hinduism, Neo-Platonism, and most of the higher non-Christian religions, it is not the *summum bonum* of Christianity. Rufus Jones² restricts the term mysticism to that system of metaphysics in which it is assumed that God is Absolute Reality, pure Being, beyond all possibility of change, whilst it is posited that in man there is an "inward light," a "divine spark," a "recollective

* A paper read at the California Seminar.

¹ *Das Gebet*; English trans., *Prayer*, p. 136.

² E. R. E. ix. 83.

faculty," which endows him with the capacity to know and to unite with this Absolute One beyond time and space; and the third proposition that by the *via negativa*, the denial of reality to anything other than the One, the soul may achieve, or possibly we should say "realise," complete union. Rufus Jones would thus restrict the term mysticism to a particular philosophy; if he be right then again I would say that we should view with grave concern the presence of mysticism in Christian worship. Rufus Jones however recognises that as well as the theory which he calls mysticism there is a distinctive type of experience for which he would use the term, "mystical experience." The religious mystical experience is one in which the normal religious consciousness is enormously heightened; in which the individual soul feels invaded by a larger life, liberated, exalted, flooded with inexpressible joy and energy. This mystical experience in its loftiest examples is, he adds, the emergence of a new type-level in life. Dean Inge defines mysticism in yet another way, and Miss Evelyn Underhill in still a fourth.³

For the purpose of our discussion we must agree upon a particular definition. If we understand what is meant in this paper by the term mysticism it will not greatly matter whether my definition or that of one of the above mentioned authorities is most correct. I shall use the terms mysticism and mystical experience loosely and almost interchangeably and shall mean by them that interest in and capacity to appreciate God which is included in Otto's term "the numinous sense," and also that organic process in which this interest in and apprehension of God comes to maturity, when God is not only sensed but seen, not only sought but found, as the self achieves a wholly new level of life; and I shall at times mean also the doctrine that in order thus to become partakers of the divine nature it is necessary first by costly effort to purify, enrich, restrain, re-direct, deepen and enlarge that life of the self at the human level which is ours today.

The organic process in which the numinous sense comes to maturity has aptly been described as regeneration, that birth from

³ Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 5; Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 97.

above which results in the joyful realisation, "It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me";⁴ the way leading thereto is that true imitation of Christ in which God's saints become those "pure in heart" who are able in very truth to see their God. If we desire a name for this complete or Christian mysticism whereby we may distinguish it from the incomplete mysticism of the great sub-Christian faiths we might perhaps coin some such term as Kingdom-mysticism, or prophetic mysticism, as distinct from the liberation-mysticism of the Vedanta, of Yoga, of Buddhism, of the Bhagavat-mystics, of the Sufis, and of the Neo-Platonists. Sub-Christian mysticism is an escape from an evil and unreal material world to God, the Real; Christian mysticism is, or should be, that way of the soul's perfecting whereby it grows into conscious fellowship with the Father, is filled increasingly with the spirit of the Son, and thus made new labours to build the Kingdom of God on earth. Sub-Christian mystics renounce absolutely this unreal world from which they would escape; the Christian mystic renounces for the moment a world which is too much with him, that having won to deeper fellowship with the Holy One he may, as Christ's fellow-worker, labour to make earth into heaven.

Having now defined the sense in which we are using our terms we may re-state the question to be discussed. What is, or should be, the place in the worship of the Western Church of the costly discipline whereby the soul rises from spiritual death into the vision of God and conscious partnership with Christ?

Before we can come to grips with this question it will be necessary briefly to glance at the objects we seek to achieve in our corporate worship. There is a sense in which it is true that Christianity is unique amongst high religions in that whilst they are, at their best, theo-centric, Christianity is geo-centric. The sub-Christian religions, at their best, have as their object escape from this temporal world and the achievement of union with God: Christianity directs us through the vision of God to world-transforming labour. The task of the Church is the task of her

⁴ Gal. 2:20 (R. V. Mg.).

Master: to call men to repentance and the Kingdom. She seeks, as He did, so to awaken selves asleep to spiritual values that they become Christ-filled, creative, world-transforming persons able and eager to build on earth with Him that Kingdom of the Father which ever is in heaven.

Because she is the Catholic, and no longer the Pharisaic, Church of God, her task is not only the nurture of the converted and the transfiguration of the faithful, it is also the conversion of the worldly. He who called His disciples to bear His cross, and prayed that they might achieve union in the Son and in the Father, came also to call sinners to repentance. She seeks, or should seek, in her worship a threefold object: the conversion of the worldly; the nurture of the converted; the sanctification or mystical awakening of the faithful. "The Church is the sacred school of the knowledge of God," said S. Athanasius.⁵ In that sacred school the Church as kindergarten seeks to convert the worldly; the Church as grammar school seeks to nurture the growing spiritual life of the faithful; the Church as high school seeks to transform the faithful into the true saints, who have seen God, and found themselves anew at one with the Christ.

Before proceeding further we must once more make a brief digression. As we have seen, worship may be conveniently divided into three levels: worship as an agency in conversion, in nurture, in transfiguration. It will clarify our discussion if we also note that it is convenient, in addition to this horizontal classification, to divide worship perpendicularly, as it were, into the four great types of worship which have emerged in the religious experience of the Western Church. We may think of them as four parallel ladders up which men may climb from the state of the worldly God-ignorant soul, through the state of the faithful, to that of the God-integrated saint. We shall notice that some of these ladders are incomplete, lacking one or other of the three essential steps.

There is considerable variety within these four types, but they are probably seen at their best in High Mass, in Holy Com-

⁵ *De Incarn.* 112.

munion and the Anglican choir offices, in Methodist revival meetings, and in the worship of the Society of Friends.

By "High Mass" I wish to suggest that type of eucharistic celebration, whether Roman, Anglican or Orthodox, where the instructed worshipper is engaged in private devotion whilst the priest celebrates the divine mysteries. Congregational coöperation is small; the faithful, it is true, "assist at mass," but they assist rather as individuals, each concerned and responsible for his own devotions, than as a Christian army thinking together, feeling together, together adoring the Adorable One. For this type of worship it is not the disadvantage the Protestant controversialist imagines that the service is in a language not understood of the people, or, if the service is in the vernacular, that the celebrant should mumble it unintelligibly. The worshippers assisting at mass are bound together by certain common attitudes and interests, but, for the instructed worshipper, the corporate worship provides a congenial and helpful atmosphere for his private devotions.

It may seem strange that I group Holy Communion with the choir offices rather than with High Mass. I do so because the Communion as it is celebrated in most Anglican churches is the supreme example of a different type of service from High Mass in the sense above defined. Worship in which, at its best, the congregation worships like a great army praying together, praising together, rising together into more conscious fellowship with Christ, is a distinctive approach to the goal of all worship. High Mass and this type of service are like parallel ladders up which men may ascend from the state of the convert to that of the faithful, from the state of the faithful to that of the saint.

The distinction of course is not between the Eucharist celebrated according to the Anglican rite on the one hand and celebration according to the Roman or Greek rites on the other. Not infrequently celebrations by Anglo-Catholic priests belong to the former type, and it is interesting to note that there is a movement both in Roman and Greek churches to make the celebration of the Eucharist once more a truly congregational act

of worship. The distinctive contribution of this second type of service is then the opportunity it provides for active congregational worship, in which the Church moves as a unity from thought to thought, from stage to stage of worship, from height to height of spiritual experience. So far as I know, in no part of Christendom is this ideal of truly congregational worship so closely approached as it is in the Anglican Communion; yet we who are Anglicans know how far we are from realizing even a fraction of the spiritual wealth which may be won by true congregational worship. Congregational worship demands from the priest, or other minister, the ability to rise himself into vivid spiritual experience and to share with the congregation by word and attitude at least a part of that which he realizes; and it demands of the congregation a continuous and intense effort to mean that which is said and to follow whither their priest leads. The unworthiness of the minister may possibly not affect the spiritual efficacy of the high-mass type of worship; it is assuredly well-nigh fatal to that type of service of which Holy Communion and the choir offices are the supreme examples.

The third type of service born of the spiritual experience of the Western Church is that developed in most of the post-Reformation churches. Preaching is central, prayers and hymns being as a rule auxiliaries to prepare for and to conserve the values of the sermon. It is curious that a movement on whose banner the priesthood of the laity is inscribed should have so exalted the minister as is the case in this type of service. Everything depends on him. If he is a true prophet of God, a man of rich and deep spiritual experience, this type of worship may become for multitudes a highway along which they march under their preacher's banner toward the City of God. True preaching is the sharing of spiritual experience; this third type of service may become a marvelous medium for the God-integrated man to share with others something of what he knows. The obvious defect of this type of worship is that we can only share what we already have. The preaching service may be potent to convert and to educate, when a Chrysostom, or a Wesley, a Phillips Brooks, or

a Norwood is the preacher—but when the minister is a spiritual pauper he cannot “make many rich.”

The fourth type of service is that silent worship developed by the Society of Friends. Far more is demanded of the worshipper than in the preaching type of service and far less help is given to him than is the case with the first and second types of worship. A group of Christians meet together to meditate in silence upon holy things, to listen as a fellowship for the word of God speaking in the inner chamber of the soul, to seek as a fellowship the inward light, and to listen to the counsel and join in the prayers of those moved by the Holy Spirit to break the silence with speech. In theory Friends may meet in unbroken silence for the whole hour or more of worship; in practice this occurs so rarely that many aged Friends have never experienced such a wholly silent meeting. For those unfamiliar with the meditation of a group of like-minded men and women, a Quaker meeting is a remarkable experience. When “nothing happens” the meeting is for the spiritually sensitive most vividly alive. In fact the first great defect in Quaker worship is that the addresses and prayers so frequently break rather than express and deepen the sense of God’s presence. None should preach or pray who is not guided and inspired so to do by the Holy Spirit. The theory is admirable; the trouble is that true prophets are not as common as blackberries in summertime. To hear aright God’s word, to be able to share with another that which one has heard, this is the high achievement of the rare prophetic soul. The second defect is that Quaker worship presupposes a sensitiveness to spiritual things and an ability to pray which, whilst more common than true prophetic power, is still rare.

For convenience of reference let us agree to call the first type of service, of which High Mass is the supreme example, the mystery service; let us call the second, of which Holy Communion is the supreme example, the congregational service; let us call the third, of which the Wesleyan preaching missions were the supreme example, the preaching service; and let us call the fourth, the silent service.

What is the place of mysticism in these four types of service at the three levels of conversion, education, and transfiguration, and how well or ill suited is each type of service to arouse, to develop, or to sublimate that instinct for the transcendent which is the birthright of every child of God? You will remember that I am using the terms mysticism and mystical experience to include not only that supreme awakening in which the self finds itself anew in Christ, but also that instinct for the transcendent which is aroused in conversion and directed and deepened at the level of the faithful.

I cannot, of course, discuss here what we mean, or should mean, by conversion, but must simply state that in this paper I am using the word to designate that profound change wherein God becomes real to a self to whom hitherto He has been unreal, or wholly unknown; in which a self hitherto indifferent to, or unaware of, the interests of others becomes aware of its duties to man; in which a self heretofore satisfied with narrow and limited ideals glimpses eternal beauty in the person and example of Jesus Christ. Nor can we here discuss the state of disharmony and inward struggle which is so frequently the prelude to the achievement of a self integrated at a new and higher level as the result of conversion.

The mystical element in conversion is the awakening in the worldly man of the instinct for the transcendent. The worldly man has not, as a rule, rejected God; he has not experienced Him. Absorbed in other interests the spiritual life, if he has heard of it at all, has seemed to be uninteresting and spiritual experience has seemed shadowy and unreal. As Otto says, "Salvation is . . . obscure for the 'natural' man; so far as he understands it, he finds it . . . uninteresting, sometimes downright distasteful and repugnant to his nature, as he would, for instance, find the beatific vision of God in our own doctrine of salvation. . . . So far as he understands it, but, then, he does not understand it in the least."⁶ Our problem is to arouse the mystical instinct, what Otto calls "the numinous consciousness." The unconverted man

⁶ *Idea of the Holy*; English trans., p. 35.

is indifferent to things spiritual; the converted man, in his best moments, hungers and thirsts for God. He who once has tasted spiritual experience hungers to taste again; but how are we to arouse that hunger in one so absorbed in other interests that for him the spiritual world does not exist? It is not, of course, in reality the vicious circle which, when thus stated, it might seem. The adult world is strange and unreal to the child; he enters it by changes within himself which make the unreal, real and desirable. So also with spiritual adolescence or conversion. By that which the child is he is self-impelled to grow through adolescence into maturity: by that which we are, children of the Eternal Love, we are impelled at length to that hunger for God which is the beginning of spiritual adolescence. As physical adolescence may be hastened and guided by appropriate environment (undesirably, for instance, by frequent exposures to sexy movies), so may spiritual adolescence be hastened by an environment and influences tending to stimulate the numinous consciousness. How effective in this arousal of the mystical instinct are our four types of worship?

I would suggest that there can be no question that the silent worship of the Friends, and the congregational worship most characteristic of our Anglican communion, are notably defective in this respect. Hardly less ineffective is the modern preaching service, save in those rare cases where the preacher is a true prophet, i.e. a man of vivid spiritual experience, able to express by word and act the truth he knows. If this is so, why is it so? The Quakers, after the first generation when conditions were abnormal, have always failed as missionaries to the worldly; in our Anglican Church of yesterday we ministered to the faithful by Holy Communion and Matins in the morning and made our Evening Prayer into an effective preaching service for the unconverted. Why are preaching missions so much less effective today? I would suggest that one reason is that a widely effective preaching service has ever appealed primarily to the emotions and has done so by using the well-known formula for mass-suggestion: confident affirmation plus constant iteration. The horror

of hell, the vicarious atonement, the love of God formed a soteriological gospel of startling power and high numinous suggestiveness. Neither preacher nor people had, as have many of us today, questionings and doubts as to what value, if any, is to be attached to the first two terms in this gospel. Without confident affirmation, believed *ex animo*, without tireless iteration, the preaching service is ineffective to arrest and to awaken the world-absorbed attention of the unconverted. How remarkably effective is this formula for mass suggestion may be seen in the case of Christian Science, where an irrational misinterpretation of the Gospel wins wide credence, and converts at least some to the spiritual life, simply because its preachers believe it *ex animo*, constantly affirm, and repeat it *ad nauseam*.

What of the mystery type of service? I would suggest that its relative success is due to two facts. First it has retained, and uses to the full, every weapon in the armory of religion where-with the entrenched worldliness of the unconverted may be assailed. Majestic architecture, the dim light of the sanctuary, the strange sweetness of incense, the beauty of ordered ritual, of gorgeous vestments, of solemn music—all these appeal directly to the dormant mystical sense, that instinct for the transcendent, the numinous, the Holy One whom we know not but dimly feel. High Mass, Roman, Anglican or Greek, is an impressive witness, to the reality of the spiritual world, admirably fitted to arrest and impress the unconverted.* Secondly, the mystery type of service has usually associated with it that confident affirmation and constant repetition which give the preaching type of service its power to convert and to arouse. When, as in America, the anti-ritualistic complex of Dissent is a dominant part of the religious background, even of the unconverted masses, the converting power of this type of service is of course greatly restricted. The fact that no Christian Church is today winning large numbers of the unconverted suggests the urgent need for

* Cf. Von Hügel "We never begin the apprehension of things spiritual except on occasion of the awakedness and stimulation of the senses. There is no such thing as an exclusively spiritual . . . apprehension of spiritual realities." *Letters*, p. 349.

the development of a service which shall be effective in arousing in the worldly their dormant instinct for the transcendent. Whatever may be the case elsewhere I believe that in America, with its background of Dissent, the preaching type of service must be our instrument for the conversion of the masses, and that it may be so modified and developed that it shall become effective in awakening the numinous consciousness. Such a modern revival will differ from the revivals of yesterday in the content of the gospel, in the environment of worship, in the conscious and legitimate, instead of the unconscious and illegitimate, use of hetero-suggestion. In the new reformation, in the midst of which we are living, we have, I believe, gone far towards that rediscovery of the eternal Gospel which will furnish the preachers of tomorrow with a simple, preachable message which, because they can believe it *ex animo*, they will confidently proclaim with continual iteration. If, as I believe to be the case, emphasis on truths commonly called mystical will be an integral part of this rediscovered and re-stated Christian Evangel, the power of such preaching to awaken in the unconverted their numinous consciousness will be still further enhanced. An appropriate environment, the right use of architecture, music and other aids to the realization of the invisible, developed in the past mainly by the mystery-type, and neglected by the preaching-type of service, will heighten the appeal of the sermon to the awakening instinct for God. Revivals in the past have all too often used suggestion illegitimately, as a substitute for reason, and a short-cut to conviction: I believe that the revival of tomorrow will use suggestion far more effectively, but I trust legitimately, as a means for the assimilation of tested truth instead of a sort of spiritual forcible-feeding whereby the soul is crammed with convictions it has not itself chewed with the teeth of reason and experiment.

The education of the converted, the nurture of the faithful, is the second step in worship. The mystical sense, the numinous consciousness, has been stirred into momentary awakening by the moment of conversion. The task of the Church is to deepen and to confirm, to direct and sublimate, this vague and momentary

apprehension of God, so that it becomes normal, or at least frequently recurrent, in consciousness. The world-absorbed self has been converted, has become aware of God, has momentarily hungered and thirsted for Him. The instinct for the transcendent has so far awakened that it has led the person to the decisive moment of conversion: the worldling has become the catechumen and would fain become one of the faithful. It was stated as the opinion of the writer that as a converting agency the congregational type of worship characteristic of the Anglican Communion is sadly inefficient. For this second step, the education of the faithful, I believe that our type of worship is, or may become, pre-eminent. When the preacher is one of the world's rare spiritual geniuses the preaching type of service may become marvelously effective in the nurture and development of the newly awakened instinct for the transcendent. But then a spiritual genius can make any type of service effective, and true prophets are rare. St. Athanasius' definition of the Church's task is peculiarly apt for this stage in the Christian life. "The Church is the sacred school of the knowledge of God." The training and deepening of mystical awareness is essentially an educational task. The converted do not mainly need the challenge, the awakening, which is characteristic of the preaching-type of service, nor are they, save in rare cases, fitted for the strenuous spiritual effort which is the condition for fruitfully sharing in the silent and mystery types of worship. They need to be led step by step to ever-deeping spiritual experience. They have, in conversion, tasted and hungered for spiritual reality; they have met God; they have still to become acquainted with Him. To listen to the minister's sermon, or sermon-like prayers, is not the help they need; the free personal devotion of the silent and mystery services is beyond their strength. They need that which the congregational type of service is most admirably fitted to give—guidance and fellowship in the apprehension of God. I have called the type of service characteristic of Anglican worship "congregational" because corporate prayer, corporate praise, the corporate search for and fellowship with God are, or should be,

its distinctive contribution to the religious life of Christendom. It lacks the numinous suggestiveness of the mystery-type of service, it is less fitted than the preaching type to arrest and arouse the unconverted, but it is peculiarly suited to the needs of the average churchman. In congregational worship the service is in the vernacular, the priest is a pastor leading his people to the living waters of eternal life. Every word of the service is, or should be, intelligible to the people. The task of the priest is vividly to realise God's presence and then by word and act to share this realization with his people. Like the preacher he cannot share what he has not got. The depth of his own spiritual experience, plus his skill in self-expression, will be, in large degree, the measure of his ability to help them to first-hand spiritual experience. A vernacular prayer book, a service read audibly, distinctly, with feeling, provide the essential mechanism for truly congregational worship. The congregation is to think and feel together along lines indicated by the familiar liturgical forms. It means continuous and costly effort not only by the priest, though by him preëminently, but also by each member of the congregation. Only as the forms of sound words are filled full with meaning by the attentive thought of the worshipper will congregational worship become that which it should be and may be. This is true of the choir services and the Litany but it is preëminently true of the Holy Communion, which is the supreme example of this type of corporate worship. In the supreme service it is supremely important that each worshipper should understand and share in the great act of sacrifice, self-dedication and renewal. The service mounts from step to step of the spiritual life. As in the mystical way, so in the Eucharist, which is as it were the lower octave of that way, the soul ascends from purification and instruction, through self-oblation and completest dedication, to communion with the Holy One and self-renewal through the downpoured gift of re-creative love. It is interesting to note that in our Anglican Church, in which, in post-Reformation days, this congregational use of the ancient services has been developed, we emphasize, thanks to the liturgical genius of Cran-

mer, not only God's great gift to us but also the gift to Him of "ourselves, our souls and bodies." That, stated most briefly, is the mystical way: we give ourselves without reserve to God, He gives Himself to us. In that measure in which we dedicate indeed to Him "ourselves, our souls and bodies," He is able and does give Himself to us. We offer Him the gift of faith and love; He gives us in return the clear and blessed vision of Himself which is the joy and the distinctive mark of the true saint. Briefly, then, I would state that, in my opinion, the congregational type of worship is peculiarly fitted to become that which at times it is not, a school for the knowledge of God, in which the fugitive and faint consciousness of God's presence characteristic of the new-born convert may be so deepened and sublimated that it becomes steadfast faith. I would add that we shall only make our regular services an effective school for the development of first-hand, or mystical, knowledge of God as we of the priesthood make the costly efforts necessary ourselves to win ever-deepening spiritual experience, and as we train our people to make an effort, little less costly, to share intelligently in every prayer and to mean *ex animo* each word that is sung or said. The continuous revision and enrichment of prayer-book and hymnal are especially important, for whilst, for the mystery-type of worship, the liturgy is the background for the devotions of the individual, for the congregational type of worship it is a ladder of thoughts, feelings, attitudes up which people and priest are to climb in an united act of prayer and praise. Archaic language, and the vestigial remains of an outgrown theology, matter considerably if we and our people are to mean whole-heartedly and unitedly the words we say and sing.

In worship as transfiguration we seek the conversion of the faithful into the saint. The instinct for the transcendent is to become the knowledge of God. In this third step in worship we seek to prepare for and to induce that great awakening in which those who have grown into purity of heart may see God. The Eucharist, whether the celebration be of the congregational or the mystery type, is, in the words of St. Ignatius, "the medi-

cine of immortality . . . the pledge of eternal life";⁷ it is the supreme and unique liturgical embodiment and reproduction of that high way of purgation, illumination, and union whereby the saints of God achieve true spiritual rebirth and find themselves anew in Him and He in them. The mystical instinct is to become the mystical consciousness; the self that has worshipped a God felt but unseen is to awaken in joy inexpressible to the conscious realization of life in Him.

It is, perhaps, significant that in those post-Reformation churches in which the preaching-type of service has become the norm of worship, the mystical way and the beatific vision have slipped very much into the background of thought, for the preaching-service has nothing to contribute to that great transformation in which the instinct for the transcendent becomes the face-to-face knowledge of the saint.

The congregational type of service is hardly more congenial to this act of spiritual rebirth. There is truth in the dictum of Plotinus that in these high regions of the spiritual life the dedicated soul must go "alone to the Alone." Our congregational worship, with its regimented prayer and constant movement, does not provide an atmosphere in which it is easy for the awakening self to transcend the levels of everyday and awaken to a new and deeper life in God. The silence of the Quaker meeting and the celebration of High Mass, whether by Roman, Anglo-Catholic or Orthodox, provides an opportunity for withdrawal into the hidden chambers of the soul, for right adoration and undisturbed contemplation which is lacking in the other forms of Christian service.

"Be still and know that I am God."⁸ Times of stillness, the absence of distraction and movement, the opportunity for withdrawal from the without and for the quest of the inward light, are conditions normally necessary if we are to experience true regeneration and, pure in heart, see God. As it is obvious that such times of quietness are found more readily in the solitude of

⁷ Rom. 7; Eph. 20.

⁸ Psalm 46: 10.

one's chamber than in fellowship with one's brethren in meeting-house or cathedral, it may seem strange that many great souls have found in the silent and mystery forms of worship an environment peculiarly congenial to the mystical awakening. The negative value of these types of service is clear: they provide an opportunity lacking in preaching and congregational worship for introversion. What positive contribution do they make to the process of mystical awakening? They provide an environment numinously suggestive, they reinforce the spiritual energy of the individual with the strength born of fellowship in prayer, and, in the case of the mystery-type of services, the Sacrament mediates to the upward-reaching soul God's down-poured grace. As Otto pointed out in his *Idea of the Holy*, majestic architecture, solemn music, and all the outward signs with which Catholic piety has enriched and interpreted the liturgy have high value in stimulating the numinous consciousness. (Unbroken silence is hardly less numinously stimulating.) There is need for such stimulation not only at the level of conversion but at the portal of saintship. The enrichment of our own spiritual experience when we meet with others in a fellowship of worship is a fact familiar to us all. The presence of the brethren strengthens the individual not only in the congregational type of service but also in that most individualistic of all forms of worship, the silent service. No man at all spiritually sensitive can worship for long in the silence of a Quaker meeting without incontrovertible assurance that greater strength and deeper insight may come to us in the fellowship of silence than is readily won in solitary prayer. The value of Holy Communion and the reserved sacrament to the soul stretching upwards towards the mystical awakening is a fact in the spiritual experience of so many saints that we need here do no more than remember that the sacraments, as the late Baron von Hügel phrased it, have made "saints, great saints."

We have seen that in the awakening of the instinct for the transcendent, in the education of the dawning mystical awareness, and in that profound transformation when faith becomes vision, each of the four great types of Christian worship has a distinctive

contribution to make. The worship of the Church must be effective in the conversion of the heathen, in the education of the faithful, and in that regeneration in which the faithful is transformed into the saint. We need the preaching and mystery type of services to arrest and arouse the unconverted; we need the congregational type of service to develop and guide the awakened religious consciousness; we need the silent and mystery type of services to provide a congenial and helpful environment for that true regeneration when the new man is born from above, consciously one with Christ.

I would suggest that in the Catholic Church of tomorrow, when our new reformation has come to full growth, place must and will be found in every parish for all four types of service. There are not men of four types corresponding to these four methods whereby man seeks to rise to fellowship with God. It is a vulgar error to suppose that the Quaker child is naturally fitted for the silent-type of service; that Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Methodists will find maximum spiritual help in the type of service familiar to them and to their forefathers, or that any one of us always needs the same type of service. The movement in the Lutheran and Anglican Churches to restore the mystery type of worship, the movements in the Roman Church and in the post-Reformation churches to develop a congregational emphasis in worship, the attempt by Evangelicals of our own communion to revive the preaching-type of service are amongst the hopeful features in the religious world of today. It is perhaps true that without education the Mass seems so much mumbo-jumbo to the Quaker; that a Quaker meeting seems to the Methodist like the absence of worship; that Anglican services seem to dissenters to be cold and formal and to Roman Catholics to be semi-Catholic ritual void of the Catholic spirit. The cure for such partial and unfriendly judgments is experience. The Anglo-Catholic will find his Mass more meaningful when he has learnt to worship fruitfully in the austere environment of a silent service; worship will become full of new meaning to the Methodist when he has learnt to appreciate and value the distinctive contributions of the

mystery and congregational types of worship. In every parish we need all four types of service.

We children of God are many-sided beings. We need the rousing power of the preaching service at its best; we need to learn the art of truly congregational prayer; we need to grow into the ability to use aright the spiritual opportunities provided by the silent and the mystery services. The four great types of Christian worship are complementary rather than alternative. Each of us needs them all and each parish needs them all. Whilst in the whole work of the Church of God the diocese may be the unit, the parish is the unit for the everyday work of the Church. There is no need for schisms and sects to conserve and to develop the many-sided worship of the Church. The values of the worship of meeting-house and of cathedral may and should be found in every parish church. Each parish needs as part of its normal program all the four types of service which have so far emerged in the experience of the Church at worship. Each parish needs as part of its normal program the preaching service to reach and arouse the worldly; each parish needs the congregational service to nurture the growing spiritual life of the converted; each parish needs the silent and mystery types of service if holy Church, the school of the knowledge of God, is to become indeed a mother of saints, able to lead the faithful from faith to knowledge, from the vague instinct that God is, to the clear vision of the Holy One. The Church in her services must arouse the numinous instinct, nurture the religious consciousness, and provide an environment congenial to the awaking of the saint. Her task is to transform souls ignorant of God, absorbed in narrow interests, into creative personalities, filled with the spirit of Christ, able efficiently to translate ideal into action—that is, true Christian mystics.

THE CÆSAREAN READINGS OF ARMENIAN GOSPEL MSS.

By ERNEST CADMAN COLWELL, University of Chicago

The first recognition of the existence of a relationship between the Armenian version and what is now referred to as the Cæsarean text is found in Macler's study of the Armenian text of Matthew and Mark.¹ Although the main part of that study is a linguistic argument claiming that the Armenian version was translated from a Greek and not from a Syriac original, considerable space is given to the discussion of the agreement of the Armenian version with the Greek MSS. Approximately sixty pages are filled with selected readings of the Armenian for which the Greek attestation is supplied.² A study of these readings led Macler to the conclusion that the Armenian version rests on a Greek MS of von Soden's I type whose text was closely related to that of codex Bezae and the Koridethi Gospels. Thus he explicitly relates the Armenian to Koridethi alone in the Cæsarean group, although other Cæsarean witnesses frequently occur in his attestation. It should also be noted that he admits that the Armenian lacks the distinctive readings of D.

This work by Macler was ably summarized and criticized by Dr. R. P. Blake.³ He points out that Macler's argument is weakened by his use of selected readings rather than complete collations. His main concern is Macler's linguistic argument, and this may explain the absence of any direct comment on the significant agreements between the Armenian and the Koridethi codex.

Professor Kirsopp Lake published in 1902 a demonstration of

¹ F. Macler, "Le Texte Arménien de L'Évangile D'Après Matthieu et Marc." *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXVIII, Paris, 1919.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 572-631.

³ "Macler's Armenian Gospels," *Harvard Theological Review*, XV (1922), 299-303. Cf. also Merk in *Biblica* IV 220f., 356f., VII 40f.

the relationship existing between fam 1, fam 13, 22, 28, 565, and 700.⁴ No significant relationship with the Armenian was suggested. Again in 1923, with Dr. Blake, he extended this relationship to include the Koridethi Gospels.⁵ In this work there is no discussion of the relationship of the Armenian to the Cæsarean text nor is the Armenian included in the group of Cæsarean witnesses.

But Canon B. H. Streeter in 1925,⁶ carrying on the work of Lake and Blake, suggested that the Armenian was closely related to the Cæsarean text. He pointed out the following significant facts: that "fam Θ is frequently supported by the Armenian against the Old Syriac"; and that fam 1's "affinities with the Armenian are almost as numerous (95 as against 103) as those with the Old Syriac."⁷ Streeter favors the theory that the original Armenian version was revised by a Greek MS which had a Cæsarean text.⁸ However, the discovery by Blake of the strongly Cæsarean character of the Old Georgian somewhat overshadowed the significance of the Armenian for the study of the Cæsarean text. Of the Old Georgian, Streeter says, "If, on further investigation, it should appear that this close relation between fam Θ holds throughout all four gospels, the Old Georgian version will become an authority of the first importance for the text of the gospels; for it will enable us to check and supplement the evidence of Θ and its allies much as the Old Latin does for that of D."⁹ And as to the Armenian version from which the Old Georgian was translated, his conclusion is that we are justified in "*provisionally* regarding the Armenian as a supplementary witness for the text of fam Θ."¹⁰ Again, in his table of "the MSS and the Local Texts" (p. 108), he ranks the Old

⁴ *Codex 1 of The Gospels and Its Allies. Texts and Studies VII*, 3.

⁵ K. Lake and R. P. Blake, "The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex," *Harvard Theological Review*, XVI (1923), 267 ff.

⁶ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, New York, 1925; see references, p. 605.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 104 f.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

Georgian as a tertiary authority for the Cæsarean and the Armenian as a tertiary authority for the Antiochian text.

The discussion of the relationship of the Armenian to the Cæsarean text was carried much further in the study of the Cæsarean text of Mark published by Lake, Blake, and New, in 1928.¹¹ They approach the Armenian through the Georgian version. The Georgian is shown by their study to be one of the leaders of the Cæsarean group; and, therefore, since Blake had demonstrated that the Georgian was translated from the Armenian, the Old Armenian must have been strongly Cæsarean in character. This character, however, the Armenian version, in their opinion, lost in the course of transmission, so that the extant Armenian version is only a weak witness to the Cæsarean text. They offer in support of this claim a list of Cæsarean readings found in the Georgian but not in the Armenian; the list contains approximately seventy-five readings for the three chapters of Mark included in their study (1, 6, and 11).¹² Their position can be fairly represented by two quotations:

Macler makes it plain that the Armenian is related to the group of codices which we regard as Cæsarean, but he fails to see that in the extant Armenian this relationship is comparatively weak. The Armenian contains as much K-material as it does Cæsarean, and may have suffered revision by the aid of other Greek MSS., not of the Cæsarean type. We have shown above (pp. 304-307) that the Armenian which underlies the Old Georgian was a strongly Cæsarean text without any pronounced peculiarities that betray direct Greek influence. Therefore the K-elements present in the extant Armenian can only have come in as the result of a secondary recension, in which the Armenian codices were revised from Greek manuscripts containing a strong admixture of K-readings.¹³

The same position is taken in *The Text of the New Testament*:¹⁴

Extant Armenian MSS are all of one type, a predominantly Byzantine text with a certain number of other readings. The significance of these non-Byzantine readings was not fully realized until it was discovered that the Old

¹¹ "The Cæsarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXI (1928).

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 305 f.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 309.

¹⁴ K. Lake, *The Text of the New Testament* (Sixth Edition revised by Silva New), (London, 1928), p. 44.

Georgian is one of the best witnesses to the Cæsarean text. This version was unquestionably translated from the Armenian.

There was, then, an earlier Armenian text, Cæsarean in type, of which no MSS remain. At some period after the Georgian translation was made, not later than the middle of the fifth century and probably as early as the year 400, this Armenian text was thoroughly revised to the Byzantine standard and only faint traces of its original character remain.

These various studies of the relationship of the Armenian version to the Cæsarean text suggested to me that there might be value in studying the text of Mark 1, 6, and 11 in detail in those Armenian sources which were available for study. These sources were seven in number: six MSS and a printed text. Three of the MSS are very early in date; the other three come from the end of the 16th to the end of the 17th century.¹⁵ The text was the American Bible Society's reprint of Zohrab's text.¹⁶ The Armenian text found in each of these sources was collated with Lloyd and Sanday's reprint (1890) of the third edition of Stephanus. The result of this collation is presented here not so as to serve in the restoration of the original Armenian text but solely to establish the extent and nature of the Cæsarean element in these Armenian sources. For this purpose, all Armenian variation from Stephanus for which Greek (or Georgian) support could be found is given in two lists: the first showing those variants from Stephanus in which the Armenian agrees with the reading of one or more of the Cæsarean witnesses, the second showing those variants from Stephanus in which the Armenian has non-Cæsarean Greek support. The large number of variants with no Greek support is discussed later.

¹⁵ The MSS with the symbols used for them here are as follows:

"M"—MS 1111 of the Institute Lazarew, Moscow, dated 887 A.D. Facsimile published by Gr. Khalathians, Moscow, 1899.

"E"—Etchmiadzin MS 229, dated 989 A.D. F. Macler, *L'Évangile Arménien: Édition Phototypique du MS No. 229 de la Bibliothèque d'Etchmiadzin*, Paris, 1920.

"G"—C. R. Gregory's Arm. 45, 10th century. Now in the possession of his brother, Professor Wm. J. Gregory, who has generously allowed me to use the MS for this study.

"C¹"—University of Chicago MS 781, dated 1670.

"C²"—University of Chicago MS 139, end of 16th century.

"C³"—University of Chicago MS 140, dated 1609.

¹⁶ *The New Testament in Ancient Armenian*, Constantinople, 1914.

LIST I

Armenian Variants from Stephanus with Cæsarean Support

The Cæsarean support as given here is taken from the work of Lake, Blake, and New in the *Harvard Theological Review*, XXI (1928). Their notation is used except that "Ga" is used for the Georgian instead of "G." The symbols used for the Armenian MSS are given in footnote 15. ABS is used for the American Bible Society's reprint of Zohrab's text. "all" indicates the agreement of the six MSS with the ABS text. The text of MS G ends at Mark 6:20b; and MS M is not quoted at all in chapter 11, since it contains only the closing verses of that chapter. A question mark before a reading indicates difficulty in deciding just what reading the Armenian supports. The notes call attention to some of the causes of this obscurity. Where the Cæsarean MSS have a reading similar to the Armenian but not identical with it, their reading is put in single brackets.

CHAPTER I

- 1 omit υιου του θεου E G M C¹: Θ 28 Ga¹.
- 2 καθως for ως all: Θ fam I 565 700.
 εν (τω) Ησαια (τω) προφητω for εν τοις προφηταις E G M C¹ C³: Θ
 fam I (565) 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
 omit εγω M: 28 565 Ga¹.
- 3 βοης for βοωντος all: Ga^{1, 2}.
 οδους for οδον M C¹ C² C³: Ga².
 add και after κυριου all: Ga^{1, 2}.
- 4 add και before εγενετο all: [Ga¹ εγενετο δε].
- 5 tr η χωρα Ιουδαιας all: Ga².
 tr Ιεροσολυμται παντες και βαπτιζοντο ABS E M C¹ C²: 28 Ga²,
 Ιεροσολυμται παντες βαπτιζοντο C³: fam 13 565 Ga¹.
 tr υπ αυτου εν τω Ιορδανη ποταμω all: Ga^{1, 2}.
- 6 και ην for ην δε all: 565 Ga².
- 8 βαπτιζω for βαπτισα G C³: Ga^{1, 2}.
- 9 Ναζαρεθ for Ναζαρετ all: Θ fam I fam 13 Ga^{1, 2}.
 tr εις τον Ιορδανην υπο Ιωαννου G M: Θ 28 565 700 Ga¹.
- 10 (The Georgian, according to Lake, Blake, and New, reads εκ for

- απο with Θ fam 13 28 565. The Armenian seems to be ambiguous.)
 add του θεου after πνευμα all: 700 Ga².
 tr καταβαινον ωσει? περιστεραν M (with Macler's F): Ga^{1, 2}.
 11 σοι for ω ABS E G C¹ C² C³: Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
 12 tr εκβαλλει αυτον all: Θ fam 13 Ga^{1, 2}.
 13 omit εν τη ερημω all: fam 1 69 124 28 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
 add και τεσσαρακοντα νυκτας C² corr (Uncertain reading due to mutilation of the marginal note): fam 13.
 14 και for δε all: Ga².
 εκηρυσσε for κηρυσσων all: [Ga² και εκηρυσσε].
 omit της βασιλειας all: Θ fam 1 69 28 565 Ga^{1, 2}.
 16 ως παρηγε for περιπατων δε all: [fam 13 28 565 700 Ga^{1, 2} και παραγων].
 Σιμωνος for αυτου all: fam 1 fam 13 565 700 Ga¹.
 τα δικτυα for αμφιβληστρον ABS E M C¹ C² C³: Θ fam 13 28 565 Ga^{1, 2}.
 εις την θαλασσαν for εν τη θαλασση all: fam 13 28 565.
 tr αλιεις γαρ ησαν all: [Ga¹ retiarum enim fuerunt].
 17 omit γενεσθαι E C¹ C²: fam 1 fam 13 28 700 Ga².
 18 omit αυτων all: Θ fam 13 28 565 700 Ga¹.
 19 οτε κατηρτιζον for καταρτιζοντας all: [Ga² componebant, with transposition].
 20 tr εκαλεσεν αυτους και ευθως αφεντες all: Θ 700 Ga².
 21 Καφαρναουμ for Καπερναουμ E G M C¹ C² C³: Θ fam 13 565 700 Ga^{1, 2A}, Καφαρναουμ ABS.
 add αυτους after εδιδασκε all: Θ 700 (Ga²), (Macler's C reads in synagogas eorum et docebat eos with Ga²).
 24 add "exists" after τι all: Ga^{1, 2B}.
 ?Nazowretzi ABS C², Nazowratzi E G (M) C¹ C³ for Ναζαρηνε:
 [Ga¹ Ναζωραιε].
 οιδαμεν for οίδα all: Ga².
 25 omit και (1) all: Ga².
 απ for εξ all: 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
 26 απ for εξ ABS E G C² C³: Θ Ga^{1, 2}.
 27 αλληλους [equals εαυτους?] for αυτους all: [Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 700 εαυτους].
 omit τις all: Θ fam 1 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
 καινη διδαχη for η διδαχη η καινη αυτη all: 700.

- omit και (2) C³: Θ Ga^{1. 2B}.
- 28 και εξηλθε for εξηλθε δε all: Θ 700 Ga^{1. 2}.
omit ευθυς all: Θ fam 1 28 565 700 Ga^{1. 2}.
- 29 tr εξελθων εκ της συναγωγης all: Θ.
εξελθων for εξελθοντες all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 565 700.
ηλθεν for ηλθον all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 565 700.
- 31 omit ευθεως all: Θ fam 1 28 565 700 Ga^{1. 2}.
(αυτω for αυτοις Macler's A [αυτους all]: Ga^{2B}.)
- 33 tr ην ολη η πολις επισυνηγμενη all: Θ.
τας θυρας for την θυραν ABS E C¹ C²: 124 28 565 700 Ga^{1. 2}.
- 34 add at end οτι ο χριστος εστιν [equals αυτον τον χριστον ειναι] all:
Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 565 700 Ga^{1. 2}. (MS G reads Ιησους for
χριστος!)
- 35 omit εξηλθε και M C¹ (omit εξηλθε G): [28 565 omit και απηλθε].
- 36 απηλθε οπισω αυτου [equals κατεδιωξεν] for κατεδιωξαν E C¹ C² C³:
Θ 28 565 700 Ga¹.
- 37 οτε ευρον for ευροντες ABS E G M C³ (οτε ειδον C¹ C²): Ga¹.
- 38 ελθετε υπαγετε for αγωμεν all: [Ga¹ venite et eamus circum].
εληλυθα for εξεληλυθα all: fam 13 28 Ga^{1. 2}.
- 39 ?εις τας συναγωγας for εν ταις συναγωγαίς all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 28
565 [Ga^{1. 2} in synagoga].
add και after αυτων C²: Ga².
- 40 omit αυτον (3) all: Θ fam 1 565 Ga¹.
omit αυτω all: 700 Ga^{1. 2}.
κυριε for οτι all: Θ 700 Ga².
- 41 εξετεινε for εκτεινας all: [Ga² και εξετεινε].
omit αυτω E M C¹ C² C³: fam 1 Ga^{1. 2}.
- 44 omit αυτω E M C¹: Ga^{2B}.
tr δειξον σε ABS E G M C¹ C³: [Ga^{1. 2} et ostende temet ipsum].
?ο for α all: Θ 700 Ga². (The sg. is often used for the plural.)
- 45 tr δυνασθαι αυτον all: 700 Ga¹.

CHAPTER 6

- 1 omit εξηλθεν εκειθεν C³: [W omit εκειθεν και ηλθεν, 13 omit και ηλθεν].
- 2 tr διδασκειν εν τη συναγωγη all: [Θ Ga¹ διδασκειν εν ταις συναγωγαίς].
ως ηκουον for ακουοντες all: [Θ fam 13 28 565 Ga^{1. 2} ακουσαντες].
add επι τη διδαχη αυτου after εξεπλησσοντο all: Θ 565 700 Ga¹.
ινα for οτι και all: Θ 700.
- 3 παις του τεκτονος και ο υιος μαριας all: [700 Ga² (fam 13) ο του
τεκτονος υιος και μαριας].

- omit δε all: Θ 565 700 Ga².
 Ιωσηφ for Ιωση C¹: Ga².
- 4 και λεγει for ελεγε δε all (The present frequently translates the aorist.): [Θ 565 700 και ελεγε].
 omit οτι all: Θ fam 13 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
 ?εαυτω for αυτου (1) all: Θ 565 Ga^{1, 2}.
- 5 tr ποιησαι δυναμιν G: 565 700.
- 6 tr κυκλω κωμας all: fam 13 W Ga².
- 7 προσκαλεσαμενος for προσκαλειται C³: fam 1 565 Ga^{1, 2}, [προσεκαλησε ABS E G M C¹ C²].
 tr αποστελλειν αυτους all: fam 1 [565 απεστειλεν αυτους].
- 8 ?αρωσιν for αιρωσιν all: Θ fam 13 565 W.
 μητε for μη (2) C² C³: [Θ 565 Ga^{1, 2}, part of a larger variant].
- 11 os for οσοι all: fam 1 fam 13 28 W Ga¹.
 ?omit αν all: Θ.
 δεξεται for δεξωνται M: fam 1 fam 13 28 W Ga¹.
 ακουση for ακουσωσιν M: fam 1 28 W Ga¹.
 omit τον υποκατω all: 565 700 Ga².
 omit αμην λεγω . . . πολει εκεινη all: Θ 28 565 W Ga^{1, 2}.
- 13 add αυτους after εθεραπευον all: Θ fam 13 28 565 700 W.
- 14 tr ηγερθη εκ νεκρων all: Θ [565 700 εγηγερται εκ νεκρων].
 tr αι δυναμεις ενεργουσιν all: Θ 13 565.
- 15 omit ελεγον (2) ABS E G C¹ C² C³: Θ fam 1 28 565 700.
- 16 omit οτι all: Θ fam 1 124 28 565 700.
- 17 add και εβαλεν before εις φυλακην all: Θ fam 13 28 565 700 Ga².
 tr εγαμησεν αυτην all: 565.
- 19 tr αποκτειναι αυτον all: 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
- 20 omit δικαιον και C¹: [fam 1 omit και αγιον].
 add τι after πολλα all: [fam 13 28 add α]. (End of MS G.)
- 21 omit αυτου (2) M: fam 1 565 Ga¹.
- 22 omit αυτης all: fam 1 Ga^{1, 2}.
 ηρεσε for απεσας all: Ga^{1, 2}.
- 23 add πολλα after αυτη all: Θ 565 700.
- 24 (Maccler's F reads και for η δε with Θ Ga¹.)
- 25 omit ευθως ABS E M C² C³ (C¹ omits verse by homoioteleuton.):
 fam 1 Ga².
 λεγει for ητησατο ABS E M C² C³: [fam 1 28 Ga^{1, 2} ειπεν].
 omit λεγουσα ABS E M C² C³: Θ fam 1 28 565 W Ga^{1, 2}.
 tr δως μοι ABS E M C² C³: Ga^{1, 2}.

- (Maccler's F omits *εξαυτης* with W.)
- 26 tr *αθετησαι αυτην* all: Θ [Ga¹ *decepit illam*].
- 28 omit *αυτην* (1) all: fam 1 W Ga^{1, 2}.
omit *αυτην* (2) all: Ga^{1, 2}.
- 29 omit *και* (2) ABS E C¹ C² C³: 28 W.
omit *αυτο* all: Ga^{1, 2}.
- 30 omit *και* (3) all: Θ fam 1 28 565 Ga^{1, 2}.
omit *οσα* (1) C¹: [fam 1 565 W omit *οσα* (2)].
- 31 ?*λεγει* for *ειπεν* all: Θ.
add ο *Ιησους* after *αυτοις* all: Θ fam 13 28 565 700 Ga².
omit *αυτοι* all: Θ fam 1 28 565 700 W Ga^{1, 2}.
tr *πολλοι οι υπαγοντες και οι ερχομενοι* all: 28.
- 32 tr *εν τω πλοιω εις ερημον τοπον* all: Θ fam 13.
- 33 omit *οι οχλοι* all: Θ fam 1 28 565 700 Ga¹.
?εγνωσαν (zgatzin) for *επεγνωσαν* (dzanean, ABS^{mg}, "many") all:
fam 1 Ga².
omit *αυτον* (1) all: Θ fam 1 28 700 W Ga².
omit *και προηλθον αυτους* all: 28 700 W Ga^{1, 2}.
- 34 *ιδων* for *ειδεν* M: 565 (700).
omit ο *Ιησους* all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 565 700 W Ga¹.
tr *οχλον πολυν* all: Θ Ga^{1, 2}.
- 35 tr *πολλης ωρας* all: 700 Ga².
omit *αυτω* all: Θ 565 700.
omit *αυτου* all: fam 1 W Ga¹.
ελεγον for *λεγουσιν* all: Θ Ga².
- 36 *τους οχλους* for *αυτους* all: Θ Ga².
omit *γαρ* C² corr: Θ 28 W Ga^{1, 2}.
φαγειν for *φαγωσιν* ABS E M C² C³ (C¹ *εχειν*): 565.
- 37 ?*αγορασμεν* for *αγορασμεν* all: fam 1 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
?δωσομεν for *δωμεν* all: fam 13 28 565. (Armenian and Georgian evidence is of doubtful value in these two readings, since the forms used in Armenian represent either aorist subjunctive or future indicative.)
- 38 omit *και* (1) all: fam 1 W.
add *αυτω* after *λεγουσιν* all: Θ fam 13 565 700.
- 39 omit *παντας* all: 700 Ga^{2B}.
- 43 *κλασματα* for *κλασματων* all: 28.
κοφινου for *κοφινους* all: [κοφινων fam 1 fam 13].
?πληρωματα for *πληρεις* all: fam 1 fam 13 W Ga¹.

- (Maccler's F* omits *πληρεις* with Ga².)
- 44 omit *τους αρτους* all: Θ fam 1 28 565 700 W.
 ??ως for *ωσει* all: Θ 565 700 Ga^{2A}.
- 45 add *αυτον* after *προαγειν* all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 565 700.
εις for *προς* all: Θ fam 1 28 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
 add *αν* (and) after *εως* C¹: W.
τους οχλους for *τον οχλον* ABS E M C² C³: fam 1 69 565 700.
?απολυη for *απολυση* ABS E M C¹ C²: [απολυει fam 1].
- 46 ?*αηλθεν* for *απηλθεν* all (one Armenian word has both meanings):
 fam 1 Ga^{1, 2}.
- 48 *ιδων* for *ειδεν* C²: Θ 565 700.
 (Maccler's C omits *προς αυτους* with Θ 565 W.)
- 50 tr *ειδον αυτον* all: Ga^{1, 2A}.
προς αυτους for *μετ αυτων* all: 700 Ga¹ [565 *αυτοις*].
- 51 tr *εις το πλοιον προς αυτους* all: 565 700.
- 53 *Γεννησαρεθ* for *Γενησαρετ* all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 565 Ga².
 omit *και προσωρμισθησαν* all: Θ fam 1 28 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
- 54 *επεγνωσαν* for *επιγνωντες* all: 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
 add *οι ανδρες του τοπου εκεινου* after *αυτον* all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 565
 700 W Ga^{1, 2} (fam 1 alone has *εκεινου*).
- 55 add *και* before *περιδραμοντες* all: 565 700 [fam 1 before *εκπεριδρα-*
μοντες, Ga^{1, 2} before *περιεδραμον*].
 add *εις* before *ολην* all: fam 13 W.
 add *και* before *ηρξαντο* C³: Θ fam 13 W Ga^{1, 2}.
φερειν for *περιφερειν* all: Θ fam 1 565 700.
 tr *φερειν τους κακως εχοντας* all: [565 700 *φερειν παντας τους κακως*
εχοντας].
- 56 *πλαταιαις* for *αγοραις* all: 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
ηψαντο for *ηπτοντο* all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 565 W Ga².
 omit *αυτου* (2) all: 565 Ga².

CHAPTER II

(Neither G nor M are available for this chapter.)

- 1 *ηγγισαν* for *εγγιζουσιν* C² (ABS E C¹ C³ *εγγυς εγενοντο*): fam 13.
 add *εις* before *Βηθανιαν* all: Θ.
απεστειλε for *αποστελλει* C^{2*}: fam 1 Ga^{1, 2}.
- 2 (Maccler's H omits *αυτοις* with fam 1 28 Ga²).
και λυετε for *λυσαντες* all: [Ga^{1, 2} *λυετε*, fam 13 28 *και λυσαντες*].
 add *και* after *λυετε* all: Ga^{1, 2}.

- 3 λυετε τον πωλον for ποιειτε τουτο all: Θ fam 13 28 565 700.
tr αποστελει (C² αποστελλει) αυτον all: [Θ αποστελλει αυτον, Ga^{1, 2}
dimittet illum].
- 4 απηλθον και ευρον for απηλθον δε και ευρον all: [Θ 565 700 Ga¹ και
απελθοντες ευρον].
- 5 λεγουσιν for ελεγον all: 700.
- 6 ειπεν for ενετειλατο all: fam 1 124 28 W. (The Armenian asatzn
may represent ειπεν αυτοις.)
- 7 αγουσιν for ηγαγον all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 W.
επιβαλλουσιν for επεβαλον all: Θ fam 1 28 565 700 W.
omit αυτων all: fam 1 28 Ga².
- 8 εστρωννυνον for εστρωσαν all: Θ fam 1 28 565 700 W.
?εν τη οδω (This εν represents i weray.) for εις την οδον (1) all:
69 28 700.
και αλλοι for αλλοι δε all: Ga^{1, 2}.
?εν τη οδω (This εν represents z——.) for εις την οδον (2) all: Θ 700.
- 9 add τω υψιστω after ωσαννα all: Θ fam 13 28 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
- 10 omit εν ονοματι κυριου all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 565 700 W Ga^{1, 2}.
ειρηνη εν ουρανω και δοξα εν υψιστοις for ωσαννα εν τοις υψιστοις all: Θ
Ga^{1, 2}, [28 700 W ειρηνη εν τοις υψιστοις, fam 1 adds Arm.
reading after s].
- 11 omit και (2) ABS E C¹ C²: Θ fam 13 28 W.
omit ηδη all: W.
(Macler's C omits και (3) with 700.)
- 12 ?omit αυτων (οτε εξηρχοντο for εξελθοντων αυτων) all: fam 13 565.
?εις Βηθανιαν for απο Βηθανιας E C²: W.
- 13 ει μη μονον φυλλα for ει μη φυλλα all: [fam 13 565 700 W ει μη φυλλα
μονον, 28 ει μη φυλλα μονα].
ουπω for ου all: fam 1.
- 14 omit και (1) all: 565.
omit ο Ιησους all: Θ fam 1 fam 13 28 565 700 Ga².
tr μηδεις εις τον αιωνα εκ σου καρπον φαγοι all: Ga^{1, 2}.
- 15 (Macler's F reads et venit Jesus Hierosolymam with Ga^{1, 2}.)
omit ο Ιησους all: fam 1 124 28 565 700 W Ga^{1, 2}.
add εξεχεεν after κολλυβιστων all: Θ fam 13 28 565 700 W Ga^{1, 2}.
- 17 add αυτους after εδιδασκε C³: 124 Ga^{1, 2B}.
και ελεγεν for λεγων all: fam 13 Ga¹.
omit αυτοις E C¹ C² C³: 28 Ga^{1, 2}.
omit ου all: Θ fam 1 69 28 700 Ga^{1, 2}.

- 18 tr οι αρχιερεις και οι γραμματαις all: Θ fam I 124 28 565 700 W Ga^{1, 2}.
 δε for γαρ all: Θ 565 [Ga^{1, 2} et timebant].
- 19 tr εξω της πολεως εξεπορευοντο for εξεπορευετο εξω της πολεως all: 28 124 W [εξεπορευοντο εξω της πολεως 565 700 Ga¹, εξω της πολεως εξεπορευετο fam I].
- 21 ?εξηρανθη for εξηρανται (Arm. ambiguous) all: Θ fam I 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
- 22 omit και all: W Ga^{1, 2}.
 αυτω for αυτοις C¹: Ga^{1, 2B}.
 add ει before εχετε all: Θ fam I 3 28 565 Ga¹.
- 23 omit γαρ all: Θ fam I 124 28 565 700 Ga^{1, 2}.
 omit οτι (I) all: 565 W.
 πιστευη for πιστευση ABS E C¹: Θ 565.
 λεγουσι for λεγει all: Ga^{2A}.
 ?οσα αν for ο εαν all: Θ 565 700.
- 24 αιτησησθε for αιτεισθε all: Θ 28.
 λαμβανητε for λαμβανετε all: [Θ fam I 565 700 Ga² ληψεσθε].
- 25 αψησει for αψη all: Θ 346 565 700.
- 26 omit verse E C¹ C² C³: 565 700 W Ga^{1, 2}.
 add υμιν after αψησει ABS: fam I 3.
- 27 περιεπατει for περιπατουντος αυτου all: [Ga¹ cum intraret].
- 28 εδωκε σοι την εξουσιαν ταυτην for την εξουσιαν ταυτην εδωκεν all: [Θ 565 Ga^{1, 2} εδωκε την εξουσιαν ταυτην].
 omit ινα ταυτα ποιης all: Θ 28 565 W Ga^{1, 2}.
- 29 tr καγω υμας ABS E C¹ C² (C³ καγω υμιν): 565.
 tr λογον ενα all: Θ fam I 124 28 Ga².
 omit και (I) all: Θ 28 565 W Ga¹.
 και εγω ερω υμιν for και ερω υμιν ABS E C¹ C² (C³ και εγω λεγω υμιν): [Ga^{2B} καγω υμιν ερω].
- 30 απ for εξ (2) all: fam I W.
- 31 add οτι before εξ ουρανων ABS E C¹ C²: Θ fam I 3.
 add ημιν after ερει all: Θ fam I fam I 3 565 700 W Ga^{1, 2}.
- 32 φοβουμεθα for εφοβουντο all: Θ fam I 3 28 565 700 W Ga².
 ηδειςαν for ειχον all: Θ 565 W Ga².
 omit οντως all: Θ fam I 124 28 565 700 Ga².
- 33 ποιω τουτο for ταυτα ποιω all: Ga¹.

In the list of agreements between the Armenian and the Cæsarean witnesses, there are two noteworthy features: the ex-

tent of the list and the large amount of agreement within the group of Armenian sources. The large majority of these Cæsarean readings are supported by all the Armenian sources studied. The list includes about 235 readings; of these 179 are found in all the Armenians. Nor is the difference between these two totals due to a large surplus of Cæsarean readings in any one MS. For each of the MSS reads about 205 Cæsarean variants; the ABS text contains about 200. There are indeed Cæsarean readings supported by only one MS, almost every one of the six MSS contributing some variants of this sort to the list. But the overwhelming majority are supported by all the Armenian sources.

In this list of about 235 readings, more than 40 are supported by the Georgian with no Greek Cæsarean support. While these agreements of Georgian and Armenian may represent real Cæsarean readings which have vanished from the Greek tradition, it is perhaps wise at the present stage of our study to eliminate these from the total before the Armenian MSS are compared with the Cæsarean MSS. With these Georgian agreements removed, the list totals a little more than 190 readings which have some Greek Cæsarean support. Of these 190 readings, a small number may be due to the coincidence of Armenian idiom and Cæsarean variant, and further study of the Armenian version may remove another small group from the list. But the list will still remain long enough to indicate a Cæsarean element of great strength in the extant Armenian sources.

To indicate the astonishing strength of this Cæsarean element, we compare the number of Cæsarean readings in the Armenian with the totals for the individual members of the Cæsarean group.¹⁷ MS 565' has 221 Cæsarean readings, Koridethi has 198, the Georgian has 178, MS 28 has 168, MS 700 has 167, W (in two chapters) has 130, fam 1 has 137, and fam 13 has 125. The 190 Cæsarean readings in the Armenian put it among the leading witnesses to the Cæsarean text; and a loss of as many as forty readings from the list would leave it still in the upper bracket with the best of the Cæsareans. When it is noted further

¹⁷ Lake, Blake, and New, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

that almost every Armenian MS studied adds new Cæsarean readings to the list, the right of Armenian MSS to be classified with the leaders of the Cæsarean group cannot be denied.

Postponing for the moment the consideration of the Georgian version, let us note the Armenian's preference within the Cæsarean group. Like a wise child it shows discretion in picking its ancestors, and agrees first with Koridethi (110 X);¹⁸ then with 565 (103 X), and 700 (96 X). Decidedly below this group comes its agreement with fam 13 (70 X), fam 1 (71 X), and 28 (67 X). Last and least it agrees with W about 40 times.¹⁹ The amount of agreement with Koridethi is striking: 110 of its Cæsarean variants are read by the Armenian. The agreement is even closer than these figures indicate, for at least 40 of its readings cannot be represented in Armenian.²⁰

But the most interesting comparison is that of Armenian and Georgian. That the Georgian version is an important member of the Cæsarean group has been demonstrated elsewhere; that the Armenian version from which it was translated is an important member of the same group has been demonstrated here. Is the Cæsarean element stronger in one than in the other? Do their Cæsarean readings coincide completely?

Old Georgian and Armenian agree in a large number of variants: about 125 times with Greek Cæsarean support, and about 40 times without Greek Cæsarean support or much of any support. The extent to which our MSS support the "singular" readings of the Old Georgian is evidence of a significant relationship.

It is a striking fact that the agreement of the Armenian with the Old Georgian "singular" readings diminishes as one turns from chapter 1 to chapters 6 and 11. In Mark 1, Armenian and Georgian agree 23 times without other support of any sig-

¹⁸ These totals were compiled before the final revision of List I, but the possible variation is slight.

¹⁹ The non-Cæsarean nature of W in chapter 1 has no effect on this position, as W is at the bottom in chapter 6, and next to the bottom in chapter 11.

²⁰ Differences in gender, inflection of the participle, etc., etc., cannot be indicated as such in Armenian.

nificance; in chapter 6 only 7 times, and in 11 only 8 times. Has the text of one or the other of these versions been changed after the early chapters of Mark? The list of "singular" readings for the Georgian is much larger for chapter 1 than for the other chapters,²¹ and this suggests either some change in the quality of the Georgian text or that the compilers of the list gave a fuller report of the idiosyncrasies of the Georgian in chapter 1 than in the other two chapters.

The agreement of the Armenian with the Georgian is indicated in the following table. While half of the agreements are with Ga¹ and Ga² together, it is obvious that as far as our MSS are concerned, the Armenian inclines toward Ga² rather than toward Ga¹.

ARMENIAN AGREEMENT WITH THE GEORGIAN

	Ga ¹	Ga ²	Ga ^{1, 2}	Total
With Greek Cæsareans.....	24	33	65	122
Without Greeks.....	7	14	23	44
Total.....	31	47	88	166

In number of Cæsarean readings the two versions are about the same; for though our list shows approximately 195 readings in the Armenian to 178 in the Georgian, it is difficult to evaluate the evidence of a version with enough nicety to make this difference in quantity very significant.

Any study of the relationship between these two versions and the Greek Cæsarean text must take into account those Cæsarean readings which are found only in Old Georgian or Armenian. Lake, Blake, and New presented a list of about 75 Cæsarean readings in the Georgian which are not in the Armenian and concluded that the Georgian is a better witness to the original Armenian than is the extant Armenian.²² But of the 75 readings in that list, 27 occur also in our list of Armenian readings with

²¹ For the Georgian evidence I am dependent on the tables and lists published by Lake, Blake, and New, *op. cit.*

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. 256, 305-307.

Cæsarean support;²³ for five, the Armenian is rather ambiguous;²⁴ for three more, Macler gives Armenian support,²⁵ and ten have no Greek Cæsarean support according to the tables in the *Harvard Theological Review* article,²⁶ leaving a balance of only thirty readings. However, from a study of the tables at the beginning of their article, it is possible to compile a list of more than fifty Georgian readings that do not occur in our Armenian sources and do have Greek Cæsarean support.²⁷ But it should be noted that further study of Armenian MSS will in all probability reduce this list somewhat.

The major objection to the argument advanced by Lake and his associates lies in their ignoring the possibility that the Armenian might have agreements with the Cæsarean text that are not found in the Georgian. As a matter of fact, our MSS have approximately seventy readings with the Greek Cæsarean MSS against the Old Georgian.²⁸ Thus if the Georgian-plus-Cæsarean-but-not-Armenian list proves the superiority of the Georgian as a witness to the Old Armenian, then the Armenian-plus-Cæsarean-but-not-Georgian list proves the superiority of the Armenian. But this is too much superiority! If the Cæsarean element is original in both versions, the only explanation would be that *each* of the versions has been corrected away from the Cæsarean text but *in different areas*.

Some hint as to the relative value of the two versions may be gained from a study of those passages in which the Armenian and some Cæsareans go against the Georgian and other Cæsareans. The tables prepared by Lake and his associates indicate variation within the Cæsarean text as follows: "the main reading" is marked "f," and the divergent readings are numbered "2," "3," etc. In ten instances Armenian and Georgian differ when each

²³ Compare their list, pp. 305-307, with List I.

²⁴ In 6: 16, 51 (1), 55 (2); 11: 6 and 21 (2).

²⁵ In 1: 31 (3) with Macler's MS A, 1: 41 with his A & C; 6: 33 (1) with D.

²⁶ Compare the list, pp. 305 f., with the table at the beginning of the article.

²⁷ These variants can easily be identified from a comparison of List I with the tables in Lake, Blake, and New, *op. cit.*

²⁸ These readings can easily be picked out of List I.

is supported by part of the Cæsarean group. If the Georgian is superior to the Armenian as a witness to the Old Armenian (Cæsarean) text, one would expect to find the Georgian reading marked "f" and the Armenian reading numbered. But the reverse is the case seven times out of the ten;²⁹ and in the eighth reading the Armenian is numbered "2" (with Koridethi), while the Georgian is labelled "3," "4," "5," and has no Cæsarean support.³⁰ In only two instances out of these ten does the Old Georgian have the "f" reading while the Armenian has one of the numbered divergent readings.³¹

Thus even at this early stage of the study of the Armenian text, it is safe to conclude that in number of Cæsarean readings and in agreements within the Cæsarean group the Armenian version of Mark must be ranked with the leading Cæsarean witnesses, as equal (if not superior) to the Old Georgian in importance.

Turning from the study of the Cæsarean element in the Armenian version, we are met by the question as to the nature of the non-Cæsarean element. It may be said first of all, by way of parenthesis, that the support given the Cæsarean readings of our MSS by non-Cæsarean MSS is rather dominantly Neutral-plus-Western rather than Neutral or Western. There seem to be a few more variants supported by the Neutral alone than are supported by the Western alone, but the majority are supported by both. The more important question, however, is "What is the nature of the support for the non-Cæsarean readings in the Armenian version?" Is there any evidence here of the revision of the Armenian text by a text that was non-Cæsarean in type?

It seems clear that a revision of the Old Armenian by such a text would leave its traces in variants from Stephanus without Cæsarean support but with the support of the members of the revising text. That is to say, if the Cæsarean readings were removed from a list of all the Armenian readings, the remainder

²⁹ Mark 6: 2, 5, 8; 11: 3, 6, 19, 23.

³⁰ Mark 1: 29.

³¹ Mark 1: 27; 6: 11.

of the list would agree with the text by which the Armenian had been revised.

A list of the variation between our MSS and Stephanus in these three chapters of Mark totals between 640 and 700 readings. Of these, about 240 have Cæsarean or Georgian support. The critical apparatus of Tischendorf's 8th edition has been searched for Greek support for the remaining 400 or more readings.³² Of the more than 400 non-Cæsarean readings in our MSS only 40 have any Greek support in Tischendorf (see List II). Even this number is not significant. For of the 40, about 15 are supported by only one MS; about half a dozen have parallels in other gospels; an equal number have similar rather than identical readings; and some represent itacisms or obviously dubious variants. This list cannot be regarded as very significant in size.

Nor has it any unity of attestation. Among the single MSS supporting various readings appear B D κ E M K 33, D having a slight lead in frequency. On the other hand in readings supported by more than one MS, the Neutral text group rivals the Syrian for the lead. But when the small number of readings involved is considered, no evidence is found here of a non-Cæsarean recension.

LIST II

Non-Cæsarean Variants from Stephanus with Greek Support

The variants listed here are those readings found in the six Armenian MSS and the ABS text for which Greek support was found in Tischendorf's apparatus criticus. There are doubtless many other readings supported by some of the Greek MSS whose evidence has been made known since Tischendorf's day. But this list, making no pretence of completeness, is designed to suggest the proportion of readings which have Greek support outside the Cæsarean group. It should be contrasted with List I.

1: 8 *καὶ* for *δε* all: D (after transposition).

1: 9 *τὴν ταῖς ἡμερὰς ἐκεῖναις* all: DΔ 48^{ev} (lection incipit).

³² For the purposes of this study, it does not matter that Tischendorf's apparatus is not as complete as it might be; it is complete enough to indicate any consistent significant support.

- 1:21 εισπορευοντο for εισπορευονται M: D⁸⁷ 33 61.
add εν before σαββασιν all: C G 433.
- 1:34 αυτα for δαιμονια M: D.
- 1:36 οι μετ αυτου ησαν all: Δ.
- 1:43 tr εβαλεν αυτον εξω ευθως all: AKΠ al pauc.
- 1:45 tr εισελθειν εις πολιν M: D.
- 6: 2 τουτω for αυτω all: NBCLΔ.
- 6: 4 ?τη συγγενεια for τοις συγγενεσι all: K 2⁸⁷.
- 6: 7 add επι before πνευματων ακαθαρτων all: [Δ 238 κατα].
- 6:10 λεγει for ελεγε G M C¹: A al pauc.
- 6:18 αυτην for την γυναικα του αδελφου σου M: 33.
- 6:19 omit και (1) C¹: E*.
- 6:22 omit και (3) all: NBC*L 33.
- 6:28 add ηνεγκε before εδωκε (2) all: [C 33 53^{ov} ηνεγκε for εδωκε::Mt].
- 6:35 omit και (3) all: D⁸⁷?
- 6:36 add εις before κωμας all: D.
- 6:38 add Ιησους after αυτοις C^{2*} C³: D.
ως υπηγαγον for γνοντες C³: [K* και ελθοντες].
- 6:41 εδωκε for εδιδου all: 33 (::Mt).
omit αυτου all: NBLΔ 33 102 al⁵.
- 6:42 omit παντες all: 33.
- 6:49 add οτι after εδοξαν all: NBLΔ 33.
εστιν for ειναι M: NBLΔ 33.
- 6:50 λεγει for λεγει αυτοις all: [D λεγων ::Mt].
omit θαρσειτε M: G al⁶.
- 6:53 εις for επι all: X 13 al⁴.
- 6:56 add εις before πολεις and αγρους all: NBDFLΔ al¹⁰.
- 11: 6 αυτω for αυτοις C¹: M.
- 11: 8 και πολλοι for πολλοι δε all: NBCLΔ.
?εαυτων for αυτων all: B.
- 11:13 add μιαν after συκην all: KMΠ al²⁰ (::Mt).
- 11:17 omit οτι C³ (Mt 21:13, Lk 19:46): CD 69 251 300 c⁸⁰⁷ h⁸⁰⁷
440 (::Mt).
- 11:19 εγενετο for εγενετο all: AE²GHV³X 69 48^{ov} al pauc.
- 11:23 ?o for α all: NBLNΔ 33 48^{ov}.
- 11:25 εν προσευχαις στηκετε for στηκητε εν προσευχαις all: [στηκετε
ACDHLMVX 1 124 al plus 20].
- 11:27 add του λαου after πρεσβυτεροι C³: D (::Mt).
- 11:30 ουρανων for ουρανου all: D⁸⁷.
- 11:31 λεγει for ερει all: D⁸⁷.

The small number of non-Cæsarean readings which have Greek support and the diverse nature of that support indicate that the Greek text represented by our Armenian MSS was Cæsarean in type. These facts indicate further that these Armenian MSS have not been revised by any other form of the Greek text, unless it be a text identical with Stephanus. To say the same thing another way: if you make a list of the Armenian variants from Stephanus with Greek support, then subtract from the list those with Cæsarean Greek support, there will be no remainder of any consequence. But there probably was some slight revision to a text agreeing with Stephanus. In this respect also the Armenian resembles the other Cæsarean witnesses. It has been suggested above that both the Armenian and the Georgian have been revised into agreement with Stephanus although at different points.

Of the entire list of Armenian variants from Stephanus, we have seen that about 200 may be explained with reference to the origin of the Armenian version (or to very early revision of it). What explanation can there be for the remaining 400 variants? The lack of support suggests at once that most of them are translational—the inevitable result of trying to render the ideas of a Greek source in Armenian. Proof of this may be seen in the fact that the versatile Greek participle lies back of a large number of these variants. About 70 of them occur in the translation of a participle. Again, more than a dozen times the Armenian prefers the construction “he-preached and he-said” to “and he-preached saying.” Many variations in the employment of prepositions and cases also are due to translation.

Much of great interest and importance will doubtless be learned from further study of lists such as these with a more exhaustive canvassing of the recent publications of collations of Greek MSS and also with a careful comparison of the Syriac evidence. But one thing is already clear: extant Armenian MSS (and printed texts) contain a text of Mark that is strongly Cæsarean in type.³³

³³ Since this was written, S. Lyonnet has argued that the Greek text behind the Armenian Gospel of Matthew was Cæsarean;—“La Version arménienne des Évangiles et son modèle grec,” *Révue Biblique* XLIII (1934), 69-87.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

By BURTON SCOTT EASTON, General Theological Seminary

Edward John Bicknell was born in 1882. After his education at Winchester and Keble College, Oxford, he was ordained to the ministry of the Church of England. From 1907 to 1919 he was in the pastoral field, but was then made Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon and in 1928 Professor of New Testament Exegesis in King's College, London. His well-known *Theological Introduction to the Articles* was published in 1919 (second edition six years later); his *Christian Idea of Sin* in 1922; his *In Defence of Christian Prayer* in 1925. Besides this he made contributions to various volumes of essays, including *Essays Catholic and Critical*, and wrote the (very conservative) treatment of Acts in the *Gore Commentary*.

Philip Melancthon Bikle (January 19th), who was born in 1844, was a distinguished teacher in Lutheran institutions and was Dean of Gettysburg College from 1889 to his retirement in 1924. From 1880 to 1907 he edited the *Lutheran Quarterly*.

George William Gilmore was born in 1858. Graduating from Union Seminary in 1886, he worked in Korea for three years. On his return to this country he entered teaching, first in the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute from 1889 to 1893, then in the Bangor Theological Seminary from 1893 to 1899 as Professor of Biblical History, then in the Meadville Theological School from 1899 to 1906 as Professor of Old Testament and Comparative Religion. By this time he had discovered that his truest vocation was editorial work, and he resigned to devote himself to the preparation of the *Schaff-Herzog* and, following this, to the *Homiletic Review*, with which he was associated as Assistant Editor and then as Editor in Chief until his death. A man of amazing erudition, who seemed to have read and mastered liter-

ally everything, he was none the less reluctant to write his own conclusions at any length, feeling that his best abilities lay in making properly available the thoughts of others. It is in accord with this that his separate works are largely translations or frank compilations.

Charles Lindley Wood, the second Viscount Halifax, was in his ninety-fifth year at the time of his death (January 18th), being born as long ago as 1839. For many years the venerated head of the English Church Union his was the most powerful lay influence in English Anglo-Catholic circles. But, as was not unnatural, in his later years he found himself unable to adapt himself to the changes that were taking place, regarding, for instance, the publication of the *Gore Commentary* as a catastrophe.

Henry Churchill King (February 28th?) was born in 1858. Graduating in 1879 from Oberlin, he remained associated with this college throughout his entire career, passing through all the academic grades until he became its President in 1902, an office he held until his retirement twenty-five years later. From 1879 to 1890 he taught mathematics, during the next seven years philosophy, and from 1897 on he held a chair in theology. After some philosophical volumes his first theological work *Reconstruction in Theology* (1901) inaugurated a long series of extraordinarily useful books, among which *Theology and the Social Consciousness* (1902), *The Seeming Unreality of the Spiritual Life* (1908), *The Ethics of Jesus* (1910), *Religion as Life* (1913) and *Seeing Life Whole* (1923) are the best known.

Pierre de La Gorce was born in 1846. Educated for the French "magistracy" he received his first appointment in 1872. But eight years later he resigned his office, owing to the conflict between his own convictions as a Catholic and the government's policy with regard to the religious orders. The rest of his life he devoted to the modern history of France, publishing works on the Second Republic (two volumes, 1887), the Second Empire (seven volumes, 1898) the religious history of the French Revolution, his most significant work (five volumes, 1909-1923) and two volumes on the Restoration (1926-1928). In 1913 he was

elected to the French Academy. M. La Gorce's attitude was frankly partizan; he wrote as a professed champion of Catholicism and of conservatism. None the less his research was so thorough that his books are indispensable to every student of the periods of which he treats.

Hermann Lüdemann was born in 1842, and held the chair of theology at Bern from 1884 to 1928, when he retired. His theological system was a somewhat individualistic development of Kantianism, according to which Christianity becomes the normal and rational reflex of man's moral dependance on God. His chief work was his *Christliche Dogmatik* (1926-1928), in which his fully elaborated theory was worked out in detail.

John Howard Bertram Masterman, since 1922 Suffragan Bishop of Plymouth, was born in 1867. Graduating from Cambridge in 1893 he took Orders and entered on a ministry that was to be partly practical and partly teaching; his most important academic position was that of Professor of History in the University of Birmingham from 1902 to 1909. His most serious historical work was his *Dawn of Mediæval Europe* (1909), but he was a prolific writer of useful books, generally apologetic and practical in nature.

William Prall was born in 1854. After some ten years in the legal profession he entered the Episcopal ministry in 1887, and was engaged in pastoral work until 1906, when he retired. He devoted the remainder of his life to historical study and writing, chiefly on subjects connected with the Huguenots.

William Stephen Rainsford (December 18th) was one of the best known clergymen in America. Born in 1850 (in Dublin), he was educated in Cambridge and held a cure in England from 1872 to 1878. In the latter year he went to Canada, and was called from Toronto to the rectorship of St. George's, New York, in 1882. His twenty-four year tenure of that position is memorable, especially for the progressive nature of the work he carried through. Characteristic of his attitude are the titles of his two most important theological volumes, *The Reasonableness of Faith* (1891) and *The Reasonableness of the Religion of Jesus* (1908).

Edward Stuart Talbot (January 30th) was born in 1844. Educated in Christ Church, Oxford, he was Warden of Keble College from 1870 to 1888 and Vicar of Leeds from 1889 to 1895. In this year he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, was translated to Southwark in 1905, and finally to Winchester in 1911, retiring in 1923. His publications, beginning practically with an essay contributed to *Lux Mundi*, were chiefly homiletical and practical.

Hans Vaihinger was born in 1852. From 1877 to 1884 he taught philosophy in Strassburg and from 1884 until his retirement in 1906 at Halle. His special field was Kant, on whom he wrote copiously, but he is best known as the originator of the "Philosophy of the As-If." His work with this title was first published in 1911, has gone through ten or more German editions and has been translated into English. It represents the extreme left of the Kantian theory of knowledge. The "thing-in-itself" is so completely unknowable that the best we can do is to assume what Vaihinger frankly called "fictions," and to act "as if" they were true. They are not true but neither are they complete delusions, they are errors, undoubtedly, but "fruitful errors," for they have a genuine value in their own realm. Various attempts have been made to utilize this system in the philosophy of religion, including an attempt by Vaihinger himself in 1930.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement. By William George Peck.
New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, pp. x + 346. \$2.50.

It seems a long road from the theological teaching of the Tractarians in Oxford in 1833 to the world-wide economic depression of 1933. But in the Hale Lectures Fr. Peck argues that from one to the other is a very straight road. He claims that the Tractarians were opposing the very forces in society which have brought about the disaster of our day. And he argues that only in accepting their teaching are we to be saved from greater evils in the future.

It has often been pointed out that the groups most vigorous in social amelioration in England in the 19th century were the Utilitarians and the Evangelicals. Although Anglo-Catholics have done noble pastoral service in many slum parishes, they were not the leaders in what is generally called social reform during the Victorian era. Fr. Peck argues that much of the vigor of the Benthamites was a misdirected vigor in that it accepted the existing secular order of society and sought to make that order tolerable for man. The Tractarians stood for the position that the only social order in which man could find his true home was the Divine Society in which every aspect of man's complex nature was recognized. The antagonism of the Tractarians to the Liberalism of their day was not due to their theological obscurantism, but to the conviction that a social order built on purely secular foundations would be destructive of the finest social and spiritual life of man.

The justification of the Tractarian position has come in our day. The mighty edifice of Capitalist economics, built with the support of a secular Liberalism, is tottering to its fall. It has given to man the social woes of the machine age; it has brought about the most terrible war in human history; and now in a time

of unexampled plenty it is unable to distribute the product of its machines, and millions starve in unemployment.

Fr. Peck wields a trenchant pen in his criticism of the existing, but passing, social and economic order. His argument is to the effect that the disasters of our day and the imminent perils of the future are the result of man's attempt to order his life without reference to his supernatural end. He makes the bold claim that the principle of the true socialization of humanity cannot be discovered within earthly horizons but must be sought in a transcendent sphere. The only social structure which can safeguard the dignity of the individual and make possible the highest social values is one that recognizes those Christian dogmas of which the Catholic Church has provided the most persistent defence. A social order that made man a means to goods, and ultimately to money, could not satisfy man and is falling. Only an order which recognizes as central the divine dignity of man as a child of God is adequate. The Catholic Faith in the Incarnation is the only foundation for a social structure, for only in this faith is the value of man for God adequately recognized. Fr. Peck proclaims the downfall of the capitalistic era, nor does he see any hope in the rivals of capitalism, Communism and Fascism. For they are as secular in character as is capitalism, they recognize no divine dignity in man.

The social character of the Tractarian message is found in their central emphasis on the Church, a social reality. As against the claims of secularist Liberalism, they set the claim that the only possible foundation or pattern of a true human order must be in a social cohesion produced by a divine intervention, characterized by a revolutionary penitence and endowed with supernatural grace. Christianity is not merely a new theology, it is a new social pattern which converges in Jesus Christ. In the new reality of the God-man, humanity is redeemed into a new order. No social movement which ignores this new level can endure. The Church, broken and confused though she be, is the continuity of the new level of life. Therefore the Church must recognize her own dignity, must look for salvation for man

in the exfoliation of her own life, and dare not surrender her own sovereignty to any secular power or movement. The Tractarians emphasized the dignity and the divine character of the Church because it was the only hope for man. And the modern failure of secular civilization has proved them right.

This is revolutionary doctrine. It is a call to the Church to recognize the greatness of the power that worketh in her, to refuse to accept as adequate the secular social goal of our day, and to set up the fulfilment of her own social life as the only goal for man. It is Anglo-Catholicism setting forth a high doctrine of the Church not on the mediæval ground of legitimacy but on the modern ground of value and function. The Church deserves the utter allegiance of men because in the social pattern which she is and in the new life which inspires her there is the only hope for man. And the claim becomes more pointed in our day as we see the collapse of the most powerful civilization of all history which has denied the supernatural and spiritual and has sought to base itself on the natural and secular.

D. A. MCGREGOR

The Holy and the Living God. By M. D. R. Willink. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933, pp. 293. 10 s.

From the title one is likely to form an erroneous idea of the contents of this book. For it is not an exposition of the modern conception of God, but is limited mainly to the Biblical and especially the Old Testament teaching about the holy in relation to God. The author admits indebtedness to Otto though his work was largely compiled before *The Idea of the Holy* appeared. Still the books run along very different lines, for Mr. Willink is chiefly concerned with the holiness of Israel's God.

That idea appears in the Old Testament in two distinct forms, which we may call a higher and a lower form. In the lower the holiness is associated with persons, places and things, priests, sanctuaries, the arts. In the higher it is associated with the noblest spiritual and ethical conceptions. The best example of this is the song of the Seraphim in the vision of the greatest of

the prophets (Isa. 6). The threefold repetition of the 'holy' is of course for emphasis. And there is clearly a double connotation, for on the one hand it serves to express a lofty conception of the nature of God, witness the various uses of the wings of the Seraphim; and on the other hand there is stress on the pure moral character of God, for the hearing of the song drives Isaiah at once to the consciousness of his own and of the people's moral uncleanness.

In this book we find much more about the lower idea of holiness than the higher. That was almost inevitable, because the Old Testament abounds with material for the one while it is very deficient for the other. Nevertheless, Mr. Willink seems to have a distinct leaning towards the lower type of holiness, and we often come very close to what involves magic for its explanation. Thus the author says in what he calls his 'apology': 'The supernatural as a factor of life in this order has been frankly accepted,' and the supernatural is the miraculous in a strict sense.

So he cites many instances from the Bible and from history to show how wickedness, or even the disregarding of a taboo, like Uzzah and the ark, was followed by disaster, and the converse. The trouble with this doctrine is that while the principle applies in a few cases, it fails in thousands of others. For instance it did not save the saintly English nurse in the World War. But what is even more important to the devout Christian, it is flatly at variance with the fundamental teaching of Jesus.

L. W. BATTEN.

Enquiries into Religion and Culture. By Christopher Dawson. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1933, pp. xi + 347. \$3.00.

These very excellent essays written by a gifted author on many different subjects during the last fifteen years possess a certain community of aim and deal in one way or another with a common problem, namely the readjustment of the spiritual life with the social and economic organization of modern culture.

To preserve spiritual roots but lose social contact, or to preserve social contacts and lose spiritual roots, is ever a sign of the

weakening of a culture. And of course it is in religion that the spiritual roots both of society and of the individual are found. The irreligious man is precisely the man without roots, who lives on the surface of existence and recognizes no ultimate spiritual allegiance.

This view of the essayist finds itself in opposition today to the dominant social philosophy whether socialist or individualist. Liberalism in the 19th century had pushed religion to one side: Communism eliminates it altogether: and yet curiously enough Communism supplies its own refutation, for while its philosophy is materialistic, the driving force in its historical development is essentially religious.

The majority of sociologists while recognizing the social importance of religion fail to see its autonomous character. They seek to "sociologize" religion: they succeed only in "theologizing" sociology. It is the lust for simplification which is the bane of sociology. Nevertheless theology needs sociology. And again and again failure by the theologians to recognize the social and economic elements in religious changes has led to confusion and even religious conflict. Witness the wars of religion in the 16th and 17th centuries. Witness the authors' essay on *St. Augustine and His Age*, in this volume, an essay of very great value.

Theology and sociology ought to be neither hostile nor indifferent to each other. "If," says Mr. Dawson, "our civilization is to recover its vitality, or even to survive, it must cease to neglect its spiritual roots and must realize that religion is not a matter of personal sentiment which has nothing to do with the objective realities of society, but is on the contrary the very heart of social life and the root of every living culture."

It is from this point of view that this lecturer in Culture in University College, Exeter, collects these essays and arranges them in three comprehensive groups, which might be labelled—The World Crisis of Today; Cycles of Civilization; Christian Philosophical Backgrounds.

The very interesting essay on Cycles of Civilization accompanied by a Spenglerian graph was read to the Sociological

Society in 1922 and curiously enough was written before the author was acquainted with Spengler's *Decline of the West*. It should be read with another essay in this book, entitled "Religion and the Life of Civilization," wherein it is shown that the true basis for a history of world progress is to be found in the organic development of the great historic world cultures of Europe and the East; nevertheless the author maintains that the geographical factor is not the essential cause of the unity of civilization which consists rather in a common consciousness which arises from great spiritual unities. "Behind the cultural unity of every great civilization lies a spiritual unity, due to some synthesis which harmonizes the inner world of spiritual activity with the outer world of social activity."

Here is a book of solid, even massive, thinking which the person of intelligence will do well to read and to read carefully. It is vital, tonic, enormously stimulating.

GEO. CRAIG STEWART.

Adventures of Ideas. By Alfred North Whitehead. New York: Macmillan, 1933, pp. xii + 392. \$3.50.

The latest volume of the Cambridge philosopher is "a study of the concept of civilization, and an endeavor to understand how it is that civilized beings arise." One point is made repeatedly—the importance of adventure for the promotion and preservation of society.

The book is divided into four parts, Sociological, Cosmological, Philosophical, and Civilization, as they are respectively entitled. There are some passages in this book, as in other writings of this author, which are inexcusably obscure (e.g. p. 47), not because of their metaphysical depth, but solely because the author has not taken the trouble to write English. The proof reader has not helped the situation much. On the other hand, there are passages of great beauty and suggestiveness. Among these we choose the following:

The greatness of Christianity—the greatness of any valuable religion—consists in its 'interim ethics.' The founders of Christianity and their earlier

followers firmly believed that the end of the world was at hand. The result was that with passionate earnestness they gave free rein to their absolute ethical intuitions respecting ideal possibilities without a thought of the preservation of society. The crash of society was certain and imminent. "Impracticability" was a word which had lost its meaning; or rather, practical good sense dictated concentration on ultimate ideas. The last things had arrived: intermediate stages were of no account (p. 19).

The author holds a view of religion which appears to be somewhat different from that set forth in *Religion in the Making*, where it was defined as "what the individual does with his solitariness" (p. 47). In the present volume there seems to be a greater recognition of the social element. For example: 'The codes of all religions also embody the particular temperaments and stages of civilization of their adherents' (p. 21)—and this helps to account for Christianity. "A gracious, simple mode of life, combined with a fortunate ignorance, endowed mankind with its most precious instrument of progress—the impracticable ethics of Christianity" (p. 20).

Whitehead is a Platonist and a Classicist, and he believes that "to the epoch between Plato and Justinian, we can trace our philosophical ideas, our religious ideas, our legal ideas, and the model of modern governmental organization" (p. 83). The chapter on "From Force to Persuasion" is a very suggestive one, while Part Three gives us a brief résumé of Whitehead's philosophical doctrines and method.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Ways and Crossways. By Paul Claudel. Tr. by John O'Connor. Sheed and Ward, 1933, pp. 260. \$2.00.

The very distinguished dramatist, essayist, and statesman, Paul Claudel, has gathered here into a volume a score of essays, most of them on religious themes, which reveal remarkable spiritual insight, gained, one is sure, not by mere intellectual study but by deep and mystical experience. "Reason is good," as he says. "Imagination is good. Sensitiveness is good. In the visible things we are taught by them. But visible things must not be sundered from things invisible. Both together make up the uni-

verse of God. And in invisible things we are taught by the lights both of Reason and of Faith."

This therefore is a book which reveals the Christian and Roman Catholic layman as philosopher, theologian, artist, and mystic. Whether writing on French Poetry or upon such abstract subjects as Justice, or Liberty, or on The Physics of the Eucharist or on The Presence of God, M. Claudel is always impressive and stimulating. He is always the elegant scholar, the sensitive artist, the devout Catholic.

One essay in particular will interest Anglicans. It is entitled "Post Script" (The Church is a House of Prayer), and is in short an indictment and a plea. He is troubled over the distractions of the average Church in France. "Like a great waiting-room: posters and prints all over. Everywhere the noise of footsteps, conversations and the constant upsetting of furniture, not to mention the organist who would be very unhappy if he could not seize every occasion to finger his infernal utensil." "Where then," he wistfully inquires, "should we go to pray?" He pleads—and eloquently—for silence. He would abolish chairs and replace them "by those solid and comfortable pews which exist in English and American Churches." He would have floors not of stone or wood but of the "felty materials." And he wants the Churches darker "so that our souls have fewer temptations to walk abroad." Moreover he would get rid of the common prie-dieu as a "veritable miracle of uncouthness." And get rid too of "all these lustres and frames and grilles and carpets and overstocked bazaar about us which remind us of the dreadful chaos in our heart and memory; those untidy spatters on walls, and dismal catafalques, all that floundering mud and chocolate, and all those flabby histories droned by fearsome sacristans. "Shall we," he inquires, "go on forever with a tyranny of plaster and dirt?" Perhaps the most radical of all his suggestions is that the statues be changed once in a while. "There is no longer any need for the same statue to be always in the same niche. It can be replaced by another according to liturgical occasion."

A lively writer, Paul Claudel, as well as a deep thinker and a

shrewd observer. We recommend this book as a first-rate example of the very best in Roman Catholicism. That it is dedicated to G. K. Chesterton "in token of admiration" is in itself a sign of brilliant brotherhood, of one deep calling to another, of one star differing from yet not unlike another star in glory.

GEO. CRAIG STEWART.

The Mishnah. Tr. from the Hebrew, with Int. and Brief Explanatory Notes by Herbert Danby. Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. xxxii + 844. \$6.75.

It has hitherto been a great handicap to students of the New Testament and of Early Christianity that we have not had an adequate translation of the *Mishnah*—the classic post-biblical sacred book of Judaism. True, there have been good translations of a few tractates: Taylor's translation of Aboth, Elmslie's *Aboda Zara*, and one or two others, especially those contained in the S.P.C.K. series. Earlier translations into Latin and German have not been accessible to most English students; while the contemporary edition, edited and translated by Beer and Holtzmann, is still far from complete.

The *Mishnah* is indispensable for a knowledge of Judaism in the period of the New Testament, not only for the background of the life of Christ and the apostles, but also for understanding the mutual influences and final separation of Church and Synagogue. For a generation now, New Testament scholars for the most part have been inclined to take the Judaism of the apocalyptic and pseudepigraphical writings as normative. There have been protests against this tendency, notably in the writings of Dr. Travers Herford and the late George Foot Moore, on the Christian side, and those of the late Dr. Abrahams and Dr. C. G. Montefiore on the Jewish. But New Testament studies, speaking generally, have been so strongly under the influence of the "apocalyptic-eschatological" school that it was almost inevitable Judaism should be viewed in the same way as the necessary background of "thorough-going eschatology." No small part of this result was due to the work of Albert Schweitzer, the world-famous physician, musician, missionary and exegete. In the English

speaking world his *Quest of the Historical Jesus* marked an epoch in the history of New Testament interpretation; but there are not lacking signs these days of a counter-swing of the pendulum, and it is not unlikely that as one result at least we shall take a fairer view of the Judaism of the early *Soferim* and *Tannaim*. At any rate, with Canon Danby's accurate and readable translation of the whole Mishnah before us we are now in a position to judge more confidently for ourselves what was the "normative Judaism" (as Professor Moore called it) during the period from c. 200 B.C. to c. A.D. 200.

The Mishnah is from first to last a work of legal exposition. Its six divisions deal formally and systematically with the interpretation and application of the Torah. The traditional titles are Seeds, Set Feasts, Women, Damages, Hallowed Things, Cleannesses. Under these are grouped the tractates dealing with the specific subjects about which questions might be raised in the enforcement of the Pentateuchal Law. The theory was that the Mishnah had come down from the time of Moses as an oral tradition or unwritten law designed to accompany and elucidate the Mosaic Code or Written Law. As a matter of fact, it represents the codified tradition of the Scribes and Rabbis of the last two centuries before Christ and the two following. It represents in some respects a development in legal and religious ideals. It crystallizes the doctrine of the Pharisaic school. Though the Sadducees were influential in the first century, by the time of Rabbi Jehudah at the end of the second century the Sadducees had fallen into disrepute and were all but forgotten. Triumphant Pharisaism set the pace for Jewish faith and practice for all the succeeding centuries.

The Mishnah is very largely theoretical and academic; and this is one of its main values for our purposes, for it not only reflects the common life of the Jews in Palestine, but it continued to view the temple and its worship "as though the nation still enjoyed privileges lost to it generations earlier." "There was a definite purpose on the part of the Rabbinic schools, after the destruction of Jerusalem, to preserve as exact a knowledge as possible of those

aspects of life under the Law which were become the more precious by reason of their present impossibility of realization." Hence, if we would know what ordinary everyday Jewish life and religion were like in the days of our Lord, we must turn to the Mishnah. Thus the book is indispensable for the student of Christian origins.

For the purpose of understanding the Jewish religion it is, of course, of fundamental importance. "In the most exact sense the Mishnah is the final expression of the Jewish nation's unimpaired religious life: whatever modifications may have since arisen in the observances of Judaism have arisen out of conditions of exile, conditions in which the religion indeed persisted, but persisted as a thing incomplete, as a maimed survival."

Dr Danby's translation is based upon the received text and presents the traditional Jewish interpretation of the Mishnah. There is no such thing yet as a critical text of the whole work, and it is doubtful if this, when and if ever established, will vary greatly from the *textus receptus*. There are just enough notes and references to make the book intelligible to the ordinary student. There is nothing in the way of a commentary; hence the book is of reasonable size and can be used conveniently by the student.

Not only has Canon Danby placed the whole English speaking New Testament world in his debt, but scholars and theologians are also deeply indebted to the Trustees of the Kennicott Fund whose generous subsidy made possible the publication of this splendid volume.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

A History of the Christian Church. By Lars P. Qualben. New York: Nelson, 1933, pp. xxii + 590. \$2.50.

In this well-printed volume, in clear and vivid style, Professor Qualben of St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, has written an excellent short history of the Church. It is of interest to compare it with Prof. Williston Walker's well known history which is of about the same length.

Dr. Walker devotes only twenty-five pages to American Christianity, whereas Dr. Qualben's preface states: "This volume differs from other Church histories in that it gives in considerable detail the course of events in the Protestant Churches of America." True to this plan, nearly a third of Dr. Qualben's book—170 pages—is given to American Christianity, not omitting, however, the Roman Church.

In order to gain space for this long section, he has of course to condense the earlier narrative. To the Middle Ages, for instance, he assigns only 50 pages, while Dr. Walker assigns 140. Walker's history emphasizes Christian doctrine, giving, for instance, fourteen pages to Augustine, while Dr. Qualben has less than three. To the Schoolmen Walker devotes fourteen pages, and Qualben only a page.

On the other hand, in his interesting description of the variations of denominationalism and sectarianism in America, Dr. Qualben has made a genuine contribution to Church history. Being himself a Lutheran, he traces with understanding the perplexing changes of the many Lutheran synods, ministeriums, and conferences, and describes the recent efforts which have brought most of the Lutheran synods into three large groups, federated or at least coöperating.

In his treatment of other churches Dr. Qualben has tried to be absolutely impartial and has succeeded remarkably, as in his chapters on the Roman Catholic Church and on the Anglican Communion. The chapters on the various churches and denominations which bear the name Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Reformed, and Evangelical, show that these groups still number sixty distinct bodies. Here and in other chapters, ingenious tables and charts help to make plain the intricate and shifting denominational relationships. The reviewer knows of no history which tells this story so clearly as Dr. Qualben's chapters on American Christianity.

Naturally some statements are made to which the Anglican will take exception, as his reckoning the Council of Trent and the Vatican Council as "Ecumenical," or the statement that the

High-Church party in England arose as the result of the Oxford Movement.

As an example of the author's clear style and candid treatment may be quoted the following:

When the Anglican church assumed final form during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it proved to be a communion half way between evangelical Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. It developed into a national church, for the English people only, while the Lutheran and the Reformed churches were international in character. The rich Renaissance culture permeating English life during the Elizabethan period impressed itself strongly upon the Anglican church, giving to its divine worship a wealth of forms and a fullness of ceremonial beauty far surpassing those ordinarily found in Lutheran or Reformed churches.

FRANCIS L. PALMER.

Saint Thomas Aquinas, "The Dumb Ox." By G. K. Chesterton. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1933, pp. 248. \$2.00.

When G. K. describes a man as one whose "bulk made it easy to regard him humorously as a sort of walking wine barrel common in the comedies of many nations; one who joked about it himself, one whose stature was more remarked than his stoutness, and one who had above all a head powerful enough to dominate his body," the description might reasonably be accepted as an admirable piece of self-portraiture. And indeed it would appear that Saint Thomas Aquinas, "the Dumb Ox," as Albert Magnus called him, whose "bellowing will fill the world," was not unlike Mr. Chesterton both in appearance and in his devotion to Catholic theology. Nor does the resemblance fail when within the cloisters we see the saint walking abstractedly fighting a battle in his mind, very polite when interrupted, more apologetic than the apologizer, but conveying the impression that he was rather happier when not interrupted. As Chesterton remarks, "there are several kinds of absence of mind, including that of some pretentious poets and intellectuals in whom the mind has never been noticeably present." There is the abstraction of the contemplative (either Christian, contemplating something, or Oriental, contemplating nothing); but St. Thomas had fits of abstraction which were neither those of the Christian mystic nor

those of the Buddhist mystic, but rather those which belong to the practical man who in his day-dreams is ever pursuing truth. In his chapter on "The Real Life of Saint Thomas," G. K. succeeds in making the actual man stand out and live. You see him before the crucifix in Naples choosing as a reward, among all the gifts freely offered him by the divine Sufferer, this one, "Only Thyself." You watch him testing his hymns with his ear until he gets just the right words for his opening "Pange Lingua," which has a "clang like the clash of cymbals." And you listen outside of the door of his sick-room in anguish for a word only to know of a sudden that "the thunderous mill of thought had stopped suddenly and that the wheel would shake the world no more,"—while out steps his confessor like one in a great fear, to whisper that the last confession of the angelic theologian had been "that of a child of five."

The chapters on St. Thomas's theology, his baptism of Aristotelianism, are well done,—especially the very lively chapter on Meditation in the Manichees wherein, like Newman, in his controversial lectures, Chesterton lets himself go and has a grand time with early Gnosticism and later Calvinism. "The old Manicheans," as he says, "taught that Satan originated the whole work of creation, commonly attributed to God. The new Calvinists taught that God originates the whole work of damnation, commonly attributed to Satan. One looked back to the first day when a devil acted like a god; the other looked forward to a last day when a god acted like the devil." As for Plato and his Christian patron St. Augustine, Chesterton in the name of Aquinas and with complete indifference to Dean Inge maintains that Plato was right but not quite right. "It is a mathematical fact," says he, "that if a line be not perfectly directed toward a point, it will actually go further away from it as it comes nearer to it. After a thousand years of extension, the miscalculation of Platonism came very near to Manicheism."

Many readers take offense at Chesterton's characteristic gay flippancies even when writing of the most serious subjects. They can take little offense here, for Chesterton after all and above all

is an artist with a fine ability to adjust himself to the atmosphere of his subject. He has one great limitation and a blessed one, he simply cannot be dull. He can, as he does here, throw into a book the appropriate tone, but he cannot restrain his own ebullient spirit of gay enthusiasm which religion always evokes. Nor when he really gets going can he keep from mounting into eloquence, as for example in this passage:

Alone upon the earth and lifted and liberated from all the wheels and whirlpools of the earth stands up the faith of Saint Thomas; weighted and balanced indeed with more than oriental metaphysics and more than pagan pomp and pageantry; but vitally and vividly alone in declaring that life is a living story with a great beginning and a great close, rooted in the primeval joy of God, and finding its fruition in the final happiness of humanity; opening with the colossal chorus in which the sons of God shouted for joy and ending in that mystical comradeship, shown in a shadowy fashion in those ancient words that are more like an archaic dance,—“for His delight is with the sons of men.”

Some of us have in our libraries a section devoted to Scholastic Theology, and another devoted solely to G. K. Chesterton. Where then shall this book be filed, for it belongs in both? Well I'd file it under Chesterton, for to be frank it is more Chestertonian than Thomistic, but I would cross-index it into theology just the same, for in this age of vertigo we need not so much a romantic Saint Francis as a stolid and stubborn reasoner like St. Thomas. In the world of Herbert Spencer something Franciscan was needed. But in the world of Einstein, in a world that has gone wild, we need a piece of solid ground, what Chesterton calls “the level of the level-headed man.” And that is just what St. Thomas Aquinas was.

GEO. CRAIG STEWART.

Martin Luther, Oak of Saxony. By Edwin P. Booth. Round Table Press, 1933. \$2.50.

Few Anglicans are naturally drawn to Luther; wherefore it behooves them to study him, for it is always well to pay special respect to leaders for whom one feels little instinctive sympathy. Familiarity with the great hero of the Reformation in Germany is peculiarly pertinent this year, following his 450th anniversary,

when the fortunes of the Church he founded hang in the balance. "The greatest event of these days and months in Germany is not the establishment of the Hitler régime, but the struggle—perhaps the death struggle—inside the Lutheran Church." So wrote a Roman Catholic author, George N. Shuster, in *The Commonweal*, for December 29, 1933. Question rises in the mind: Is the force released by Luther into German life, and for that matter into the life of Europe, a spent force? To suggest the question is audacious, to answer it impossible. But *if* the force is waning—the *if* is large—it is well for us to renew our sense of its spiritual intensity at its inception, when the tremendous response evoked witnessed to the desperate need of the sixteenth century, a need hard to believe exhausted. Professor Booth makes no attempt to answer the question; but his book may greatly help to such renewed understanding the reader too lazy or too remote from the Reformation tradition to master the long volumes in which Luther has usually been presented.

The book helps in this way, if only because it is eminently readable, and because it enables us to enter into real intimacy with its subject. Mr. Booth, professor of Church history at Boston University, is a rising spiritual and intellectual influence in New England. This is his first volume; and, despite occasional crudities of phrasing, it registers not only promise but performance. The author does not use the merciless biographical method current a few years ago, with its liking to dissect if not to discredit; neither is his attitude that of the hero worshipper. He makes a straightforward effort to show the man as he was. The book shows good power of selection and simplification, and the social background in Germany and throughout the world is excellently if succinctly sketched. One would welcome, to be sure, some slight record of Luther's predecessors in the age-long struggle to reform the Church from within; the part played in the drama by the rising nationalism of Germany is lightly indicated, but might perhaps have been more stressed. And as to Luther himself, it is hard to avoid feeling that the less pleasant elements in his peasant heritage have been a little soft-pedalled:

the frequent harshness or even grossness of his mind and speech, as shown for instance in his controversy with Zwingli. But the portrait as a whole stands out, authentic, compelling, as in the delineation of Cranach. Luther lives for us, a possession for all time, in his stubborn courage, his indignant sincerity, his broad, honest, powerful, but not subtle intelligence, his naïf inability to understand or even to respect an opponent; no less than in that deep and touching tenderness revealed in his inimitable letters to his children, and those hymns which are so rich a treasure of his loved fatherland. Here is a religious genius, defined by negative as by positive traits. For despite the depth of devotion, one feels the absence of the mystical note—an absence all the more surprising because Luther was trained by the Brethren of the Common Life, and loved his Tauler. But he approaches the "*Mysterium Tremendum*" with filial awe indeed, yet with an almost disconcerting note as of domestic intimacy. One is aware that Luther does not realize himself or his Deity fully till he is married, and a father.

To say that the interest of Professor Booth's book is focussed on Luther the man, is not to imply that no help is given toward appraising the achievement. A good point in the book is the stress on Catholic notes, in Luther's temperament and conviction. His wide intimacy with Catholic authorities from Augustine to William of Occam, though the order of influence be reversed, his loyalty to true Catholic tradition; and of course his sacramental faith; all these are noted. "The Roman Church, whose historic Catholicism was the centre and soul of Luther's life, has need to number him among the saints," says Mr. Booth. Is the paradox justified? In one way, yes; not only on the grounds just stated, but because the reform within so desperately needed was so stimulated by the Reformation. Had it not been for Luther, would a Loyola have been possible, or a Counter Reformation? Yet the assertion is overbold. For more and more as the story proceeds we watch Luther veering toward the complete religious individualism which is the obverse of the Catholic position. He seemed to himself simply to have shifted dependence from a

living Church to an infallible Book; as all Protestantism at its inception moved in conscious safety within the enclosed protection of Holy Writ. But the prop to which it clung has weakened and it is difficult, despite Barth and his followers, to picture what would befall Luther today did he find himself tossing in the uncharted sea of modern religious thought. Conceivably he might discover a surer prop in Christian experience, guaranteed within the continuous life of the Mystical Body. But he was a man of his own time. Let him be honored as he stands.

He bears his destined part in a perpetually alternating emphasis. Such oscillating rhythm, conditioned and modified by social circumstance, that brilliant scholar M. Louis Cazamian assumes in all literary history. It obtains in religious history as well. In the sixteenth century the time had come when the individual emphasis, discernible but secondary throughout the middle ages, should become dominant for the time being; and Luther was the greatest of those to whom the task of restoring that emphasis was given. But through all oscillations is heard the enduring music. "In all the fields of Time, Luther is tremendously of his own day," concludes Mr. Booth; ". . . But in the fields of the Eternal, he lived a free man." Seen *sub specie æternitatis* Luther is surely very great; and this book well reveals his greatness.

VIDA D. SCUDDER.

Phänomenologie der Religion. By Gerardus van der Leeuw. Tübingen: Mohr, 1933, pp. xii + 669. M. 17.

When some months ago the announcement was made that a new series of theological textbooks to be known as *Neue Theologische Grundrisse* was to appear and to take the place of its famous predecessor, and that the authors of this series were to include Professors Martin Dibelius, Otto Eissfeldt, Ludwig Kohler, Gerardus van der Leeuw, and Fr. Karl Schumann; and that the series was to be under the general editorship of Professor Rudolf Bultmann—the theological world sat up and took notice.

The first volume of the new series amply justifies the highest expectations that have been entertained. Quite appropriately the series opens with a volume on the phenomenology of religion. We do not use the term in this country, having originally made use of the very inadequate term 'Comparative Religion,' and having now uniformly swung over to 'History of Religions.' Phenomenology deals, naturally enough, with the phenomena of religion as seen and to be studied in the various religions of mankind, but without trying to set each particular phenomenon against the background of the religion in which it is found. Thus we get a sort of encyclopedic or cross-section view of religion. This is of course not the only way in which to study the religions of mankind, but it is an extremely valuable one after the student has made some progress in history of religions.

Dr van der Leeuw is a philosopher of religion and with Lehmann, Marett, Söderblom, Otto, Heiler and others finds the root of religion in the conception of—or rather in the felt response to—an objective Power outside man. This root conception—or "sense of the Numinous," as Otto calls it—is carried through to the top-most reaches of religious development. We consequently get a thoroughly dynamic, activist, and thoroughly social conception of religion. The final form in which religion is presented, viz. in Christianity, or rather in the Christian Figure of the Mediator (§ 106), is profoundly moving. If the rest of the volumes in this new series are up to the standing of the first one, Germany will have a set of textbooks which are thoroughly critical, adequately scientific, and at the same time positively religious in their outlook—something that could not always be said of the textbooks published toward the end of last century. On the other hand, we are glad to note that Barthianism, although often thought to be the leading religious movement in present-day Germany, does not noticeably influence the outlook of the author.

A word should be said about the literary style of the book and its constant use of illustrative material from various religions. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that what William James did for the psychology of religion in his famous classic, *The Varieties*

of *Religious Experience*, Professor van der Leeuw has done for phenomenology. Moreover, the book is right up to date. On page 496 for instance is a reference to Mark Connelly's *Green Pastures*.

Alas, that publication costs are so high these days! An English translation would no doubt be prohibitively expensive. There is nothing for it—the student will have to learn German.

The next volume to appear in the series is Dr Eissfeldt's *Introduction to the Old Testament*. Another tremendously important volume in the series will be the second one following Eissfeldt, *The History of Primitive Christian Literature*, by Dibelius. We confess that we can hardly wait until these volumes appear.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

The Gospel of the Hellenists. By Benjamin Wisner Bacon. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1933, xii + 432. \$4.00.

This posthumous volume of Dr. Bacon's has been edited by Dr. C. H. Kraeling, from a manuscript which appeared to be substantially complete; all that was lacking was a chapter on "The Sacraments in John." Closer investigation showed, however, that Dr. Bacon's thought had changed during the writing of the manuscript and that his later views had not been thoroughly reconciled with the earlier ones; in certain important regards, in fact, he had not fully reached a decision. Thus in the note on page 218, Dr. Kraeling tells us that in the first writing he believed that the Farewell Discourses in chapters 14–16 could be explained by placing chapter 14 after chapter 16: this theory is adopted in the translation printed. But more deliberate thinking led him to adopt instead the duplication theory, regarding chapters 14 and 15–16 as parallel versions, both from the original hand and both incorporated by the editor. The implications of this theory he had not worked out in full even for this passage and he seems to have made no attempt to apply it elsewhere: it might have helped considerably in clearing up the confusion in 7:1–10:22.

Dr. Kraeling's task was therefore a most difficult and delicate

one, which involved much rewriting and rearranging. It was a terrible burden to lay on any editor, but infinitely heavier in the case of one so loved and venerated as was this Master. But the duty has been performed superbly. The book is as self-consistent as was possible under the circumstances, and is clear and orderly; more clear and more orderly, perhaps, than if it had been finished by its author, who never found language adequate to convey his teeming thoughts. And it is always faithful to its purpose; everything is Bacon and nothing Kraeling.

Those who have followed Dr. Bacon's work closely, in his magazine articles as well as his published volumes, will not find much here that is very novel; although, of course, a fairly complete and systematic treatise is always more illuminating than are fragments. Its great lack is adequate treatment of the more recent writers on the Fourth Gospel, especially Windisch (who is mentioned but not analyzed), J. E. Carpenter and G. H. C. MacGregor. Nor is there any evaluation of Dr. Lohmeyer's discussion of the affinities between John and Revelation. But these are minor matters. Over the Fourth Gospel Dr. Bacon brooded for more than a generation and a single sentence from him is weightier than a whole chapter from a lesser man. Beginners in Johannine study will not find this the best book—MacGregor's commentary has that distinction—but after they have made the first steps and want to know what the Gospel is really about, they will turn to *The Gospel of the Hellenists*—and they will be satisfied.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

The Four Gospels. By Charles Cutler Torrey. New York: Harpers, 1933, pp. xii + 331. \$3.00.

The theory that the four gospels are translations from Semitic originals here reaches its zenith. It is a theory that has been ably presented in varying forms by various Old Testament scholars who have used linguistic scholarship of a high order in presenting their position. That any other work on this subject will ever equal the extent and scholarship of this volume seems

very improbable in view of the universal rejection of this theory by New Testament scholarship. Yet the present volume will impress most of its readers with the meagerness of its contribution. The notes on the new readings and the essay on the origin of the gospels add little except detail to what the author has published before. All that is new is a close translation of the Greek text of Westcott and Hort, which in about 250 passages is translated into English by way of Aramaic. The author changes these passages by conjectural emendation based on his knowledge of Aramaic idiom.

The fundamental weakness of the theory is that it operates in a historical vacuum. A statement of some of Torrey's positions will indicate why his theory failed. He contends that the gospels were written primarily for Jews, are thoroughly Palestinian, were written in Aramaic (except Luke), within 30 years of Jesus' death, in the order Mark-Matthew-John-Luke. Luke had the Greek Matthew and Mark as well as their Aramaic gospels and sources and additional Semitic documents. This puts the translation into Greek in the same period as the composition in Aramaic!

These positions indicate that the author has taken little account of the work of Cadbury, Windisch, Moffatt, Scott, Streeter, Bauer, and Bacon—to mention only a few of the scholars who have done valuable work in this field. But this is in harmony with one of his presuppositions: that this problem can be solved only by experts in Aramaic whose decision is to be accepted unquestioningly by New Testament scholars because it rests on an Aramaic *Sprachgefühl* that cannot be objectively presented.

In matters of detail it may be noted that the author claims an extensive Aramaic literature. But if we subtract from his list Gentile documents and those which exist only in Greek, all that remains are parts of Daniel and Ezra. It is in this Aramaic, of two centuries later, that he believes that the gospels were written. It is only fair to remind the reader that this is a conjectured original, since the form of the footnotes to the text—the Greek adds so and so—may mislead the reader into attributing to the

supposed Aramaic an objective reality which it does not possess. The same must be said of the heading on the jacket (for which, probably, the publishers and not the author are to be blamed): "A translation of the Four Gospels from new sources. . . ." The Westcott and Hort text can hardly be called a new source.

ERNEST CADMAN COLWELL.

Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums. Second edition. By Martin Dibelius. Tübingen: Mohr, 1933, pp. iv + 315. M. 12.

The first edition of Dr Dibelius' important work was published in 1919 and formed a neat paper-covered little book of barely a hundred pages. It was, however, one of the works which sketched out the program of Form Criticism and has had enormous and increasing influence during the fifteen years since its publication. In many respects the theories of Dibelius are markedly divergent from those of Rudolf Bultmann, for example, though they continue to run along roughly parallel, with many cross-references and common elements. This continues to be true in the present second editions of both their leading works wherein each gives full credit to his rival's views, though courteously pointing out differences of view when they occur.

The new edition represents no change in Dr Dibelius' views but only an amplification and on some points a clarifying. Only on one or two minor points does he retract the position taken in 1919. The enlargement of the volume has taken place chiefly by the addition of new chapters, viz. V. "The Legends," VI. "Analogies," VII. "The Passion Narrative." The chapter on 'The Passion Narrative' is extremely important. It takes into account the recent work of Lietzmann and others. There is a very noticeable religious emphasis in some of the most recent critical work being done in Germany. For a time it was common to assume that higher criticism had no interest in religious questions, that with the critics everything was purely objective and matters of personal faith were not allowed to have any bearing upon exegesis. Consequently, criticism tended to get out of touch with the religious life. It has certainly been true here in

this country. Preachers and pastors who studied higher criticism were expected to preach nothing but the bare bones of criticism while their hungry sheep looked up and were not fed. On the other hand, educated clergy were supposed to know something about criticism, and hence a certain amount of lip-service was paid it by those who never thought of taking criticism seriously when it came to sermons and instructions; they went blissfully on their way, ringing the changes on the old biblical views, treating St John as on a par with the the Synoptists, and so on. I wish it could be brought home to students and pastors today that there is a wealth of value in the new critical approach to the Gospels and that much of it is to be found by way of Form Criticism.

Take the chapter before us. Dibelius' treatment of the institution of the Eucharist from the Form-Historical point of view is a magnificent exposition of the central meaning of that rite from its earliest beginnings. In its central and essential meaning it was a sacrament of union with Christ, the risen, ascended, glorious Lord of the Church. Or take his exegesis of the last word of our Lord upon the cross. It is quite impossible he says to view it as a "cry of dereliction." To begin with, our Lord was quoting Scripture. "Whoever repeated this cry of the pious Jew faced with desperate need, by no means expressed thereby an impious struggle against the will of God; a Bible-verse on the lips of one who was dying meant, for such Bible-piety, no matter what the circumstances, real communion with God" (p. 194). How much baseless and fruitless speculation Christian theology might have been spared on this point had this simple observation been made long ago!

Form Criticism has come to stay. This does not mean that every conclusion of every form critic is infallible, but that its general outlook and approach will be more and more that of all students of the Gospels from now on. No finer introduction to the method has appeared than this second edition of Dr Dibelius' pioneer work.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Johannes der Täufer. By Ernst Lohmeyer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1932 [i.e., 1933], pp. 196. M. 16.20.

The significance of the Baptist's work is to be explained from his priestly descent. Although the people regarded him as a prophet, neither his message nor his work were actually prophetic; he was "more than a prophet," i.e., a priest or even more truly a high-priest. It is only against the background of the Jewish cultus that he is comprehensible, whether in isolation, his garb, his food, his preaching, his political protests or—above all—his baptism. In every instance John had in mind the Temple and its practices; in every instance he accepted the principles on which these practices rested; in every instance he showed the independence of his mission by explicit contradiction. The high-priest's "separation" was in the midst of his brethren; John sought the isolation of the wilderness. The high-priest was clad in linen; John in camel's hair. The high-priest's food, although specially restricted, was not very different from that of other priests; John ate only locusts and wild honey. The high-priest was believed to be able to prophesy earthly events; John proclaimed the imminence of God's final intervention. The high-priest sought the peoples' rights as against Rome; John's protests were apocalyptic. The high-priest offered the sacrifice of the Day of the Atonement to reconcile the people to God; John by his baptism presented to God a people prepared for Him.

This conception of the baptism as a high-priestly rite is worked out elaborately. It was God's act, not man's; this is urged so strongly that the phrase "baptism of repentance" is explained to mean not "baptism resting on repentance" but "baptism whose fruit is a (God-given) repentance" (page 69). So the "fruits worthy of repentance"—a phrase addressed to *enemies*—becomes "fruits like those of my converts" (page 105, note 3). In the rite "Baptist and baptism coalesce" (page 103). It is effectual whether men believe in it or not (page 97), and yet it is not *ex opere operato* since it is the way to salvation, not salvation itself (page 104).

Since this is the quality of this unique baptism all search for

its precedents must be vain. Priestly ablutions, proselyte immersions, even the hope of apocalyptic cleansing are irrelevant for this act of "the eternal now." "John's baptism sums up the complete revelation of God and world and people and man in a single act, presses into it all motives of salvation, of community relations and of faith, to await their unfolding in the approaching day of final consummation" (page 156).

This citation is completely characteristic of the book as a whole and reveals both Dr. Lohmeyer's strength and his weakness. His strength is his extraordinary ability to pierce through the accumulations of traditional explanations, and seize and make alive the passion of apocalyptic expectation that fired Jews and Christians in the first century. His weakness is to read back into their minds conceptions that they could not have held or even comprehended. What could John the Baptist have made out of the oft-repeated assertion that to him God and the Kingdom are outside the time-space complex? Or out of the difference between "the metaphysical reality of God and the historical reality of man's acts" (page 173)? Occasionally we find admissions, such as that on page 176, where it is granted that to the Baptist the interval before the coming of the Kingdom could be measured in actual time. But Dr. Lohmeyer is in haste to add that this proves only that "his thought is not exhausted by the concept of the eternal presence or the present eternity of the divine acts." But neither phrase can be translated into Aramaic, nor could either have conveyed the slightest sense to John.

Dr. Lohmeyer does not permit such considerations to trouble him. The Baptist is treated as a conscious proclaimer of the Barthian dialectic, whose logic is pushed relentlessly. He thus becomes an enemy not only of the Temple but of the Law as well: both are "historical" and his work is "suprahistorical." But was either enmity true? That neither Temple nor Law is mentioned in our pitifully minute record of his sayings is of no consequence. But we know the attitude of the greatest of those who obeyed John: Jesus taught that the Temple was God's House

and the Law eternal. Was this in opposition to John, whom Jesus held to be "more than a prophet" and to whose baptism "from heaven" he submitted? We cannot believe it.

It would be ungracious, however, to carry criticism into further details. Dr. Lohmeyer's works are always provocative to the highest degree and from few writers can one learn so much. To be sure what one learns is not always what he purposes to teach—but this is of little moment.

Of minor matters it may be noted that the final summary is extraordinarily interesting. The stress on the cultus, despite its exaggerations, is an important corrective to the views of such writers as G. F. Moore. Dr. Lohmeyer agrees with Dr. Goguel in translating "be united by baptism" in the Josephus passage. The handling of the Mandaean problem is reserved and sensible, avoiding Lietzmann's dogmatism. Real and independent tradition is admitted in the Fourth Evangelist's account of the Baptist; e.g. "Lamb of God" is a genuine title used of the coming Messiah, although not sacrificially but apocalyptically. It is pleasant to observe free citation of English-speaking scholars, especially B. W. Bacon.

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

Lessons on the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ. By Robert S. Chalmers. Morehouse, 1933, pp. 211. \$1.25.

This is the first of a series of contemplated textbooks for Church Schools written by the rector of Grace and St. Peter's Church, Baltimore. The entire course is to be called *The Pastoral Series*, in recognition of one of its fundamental aims, viz. to emphasize the pastoral contact between rector and scholars which is commonly lacking in graded courses. In thirty-two lessons the most important episodes in the life of Christ are presented in the conventional order. Since the course is designed to be used for all pupils from eight years of age to twenty-four, two and sometimes three different "methods of presentation" are offered in each lesson. Actually the lesson begins during the worship service, at which time the rector presents an outline of the day's

study, followed by three set questions and answers offered catechetically to the assembly. It is the theory that the subsequent class lesson will tend to "fix" the aims so suggested. Additional memory work appears in the form of material from the Bible, Prayer Book and Hymnal.

Despite the promised pastoral emphasis, the activity of the rector during the worship service is the sole fulfilment of that promise. The bulk of the lesson is an exposition of designated sections of Paterson-Smyth's *A People's Life of Christ*. The essential set-up represents a return to that of the old International Lessons with the substitution of set questions and answers for the time-honored Golden Text. Even the several methods of presentation of material differ only in the emphasis put upon the subject matter of the lessons; technique remains the same.

In his preface the author calls attention to the generally accepted dictum that every lesson should eventuate in some sort of expression; yet in only three lessons are there any specific suggestions as to how this desideratum is to be achieved. The author has turned his back on almost everything that modern pedagogy and psychology have to teach, and he ignores the findings of critical scholarship as completely as he does the scope of the enquiring mind of modern youth. Didactic and conventional, the poor technique which characterizes the course is mitigated only by the clear and concise exposition. The author's points are sharply drawn, and his illustrations are generally interesting and apt.

At a time when educational experimentation has far out-distanced practice, especially in the field of religion, perhaps it is inevitable that a course such as this should find a demand. There is no doubt that it will be accepted thankfully by many a bewildered and handicapped leader. That this should be so constitutes yet a further dismal commentary on the failure of the Church to provide for her youth the high quality of religious instruction which is so desperately needed.

H. RALPH HIGGINS.

The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ. By C. E. Raven and Eleanor Raven. Macmillan, 1933, pp. vii + 263. \$1.50.

This little volume is designed to present the background, the outline, and the sources of the life and teaching of our Lord from the modern point of view. Following a series of excellent introductory chapters (pp. 1-105), the second half of the book gives the Gospel of Mark, the contents of Q (mainly in the Lucan version and order, the passages being about those which Streeter identifies), the peculiar material of Luke, the Matthean teaching and parables, and finally the narrative contents of John—up through John vii. 10.

It is with great reluctance that we venture to point out certain defects in this otherwise excellent book. The authors retain the old word 'Jehovah'—though it was certainly never pronounced that way in the Old Testament era and was not pronounced at all in the New. In the next place, the style of a number of sentences is simply barbarous; e.g., "In the later days of Jeremiah the Captivity and Exile destroyed for many generations Jewish national life." This is but one illustration of the crudity which mars many of the sentences in the first part of the book. Since the volume was set up by the Cambridge University Press, one wonders how their Readers ever let them pass. The Regius Professor of Divinity must be a very sacrosanct person indeed, whose literary style is not to be questioned even by those other mighty potentates, the Readers for the Press.

In the third place, the authors have little sympathy with Judaism in the first century, and simply repeat the tiresome and time-worn charges of formalism and unreality. It is a question if any religion could ever be as far gone as most Christians seem to think first century Judaism was, and survive. A sentence which illustrates both the authors' view of Judaism and their peculiar literary style is found on page twenty: "It was from the stress laid by Pharisaic teaching upon the exact performance of particular duties, that there arose the hypocrisy which was the ground of our Lord's chiefest condemnation." Surely, the authors cannot mean just that!

The book would have profited much by being read over, before it was set up, by two or three persons more thoroughly familiar with first century Judaism and also with the source-criticism of the Synoptic Gospels. No doubt the book will be very useful; and we have nothing but the greatest enthusiasm for its plan, viz. the sources printed out in full following a historical introduction; but we cannot help regretting one or two blemishes in the introductory part.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

The Hiding God. By Robert Norwood. New York: Scribner, 1933, pp. 251. \$2.00.

The late Robert Norwood had many of the elements of a very great preacher. He had the eloquence which comes from a highly imaginative mind, a sincere love of God, a passionate devotion to Jesus Christ, a warm and glowing love of men, a fine dramatic ability and a voice like an organ. These eighteen sermons preached in 1925—his first year at St. Bartholomew's—reveal all these gifts except the last; and as he himself says in the preface, "When I look over the stenographic reports of my sermons, I am conscious of something absent that could not be presented in the printed work—that sense of the lifting of veils, that consciousness of the nearing presence of the great Comrade."

But these sermons also reveal his great limitations as a preacher. "I do not profess," he acknowledges, "to have a scholar's mind." And yet a great preacher in a great Christian pulpit should have a trained mind in his own field of theology. Theology is "thinking earnestly about God." A preacher is expected to be a teacher as well. It is not enough that he be inspiring, moving, loving, eloquent. He must be an interpreter of the truth proclaimed by the body of which he is an authorized ambassador.

If he is to be a modern and dynamic interpreter of an ancient faith, he must at least know what that faith is and not be careless in damning the faith of yesterday as "static" just because it was held yesterday and the day before. New ideas in theology often turn out to be ancient heresies reappearing in new guise. Dr.

Norwood would have been a greater preacher had he known his theology and had he known his church history. His Christology for example is pitiful. "Whatever theory," he says, "you may have about Jesus, this is mine: that God was wanting to be perfect man, but could not be until the Galilean perfected his manhood and so made himself Light of Light, Very God of Very God." On that he says his thought is orb'd, as a sphere on a spindle. In another sermon he "watches Jesus become the Son of God."

His doctrine of the Church, the Body of Christ, is sentimental and loose. It is not grounded in Scripture and is not the teaching as this Church hath received the same.

"A Churchman is a man who has caught the inspiration of that thought (the unity of all who have the spirit of Jesus) and who sees it in all its beauty. If there are people who have brought their cares or their ambitions here (St. Bartholomew's) and to whom these words are a strange tongue, *I excommunicate them, at once* as not being members of the Body of Christ. But if there are people who are *throbbing* to this and saying 'I know it, I have seen it, I have fulfilled it in myself, I have seen it happen in human conditions, then *I declare them members—and the only possible members—of the living Christ.*' Again: "The Kingdom of God has nothing to do with orthodox thinking or orthodox action. The Kingdom of God is God's rule in human hearts." Again: "The Church is always where a little group of companions are met together, men and women who *feel* about life as he (Christ) did. There and there only is the Church." Again: "The Church is a disposition of lovingkindness." Again: "You can hold any opinion you like about God. You can believe what you like as long as you love splendidly, beautifully, as long as you make friendship the touchstone of your relationship with God, as long as you make loyalty to your father and mother one of the articles of your creed, as long as you stand four square in all the mighty movements of this confused social hour."

"I have no temple and no creed,
I celebrate no mystic rite;
The human heart is all I need,
Wherein I worship day and night."

All of which would seem to make nothing worth not only the sacraments of the Church, but the Church itself, of which St. Bartholomew's is after all a parish canonically adhering to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of this Church, and in which Robert Norwood was an ordained priest committed definitely to a creed and bound to celebrate the mystic rites.

In a word Norwood was a preacher, a poet, an individualist, a dreamer, a lover of God and man who fell into sloppy ways of thinking and speaking, just because he never took the time to think things through. Had he stopped to think he could scarcely have bawled out that "Evolution is God," and then gone on to announce that "the God who hid himself from the *Victorians* under the stress of a controversy concerning the new biological processes has revealed himself through *Browning* and *Whitman* [were they not Victorians?] and through an entirely new school of mystic interpreters who believe that there is a power in ourselves that makes for righteousness," etc.

And yet let it be repeated that Robert Norwood had many of the gifts of a great prophet, and seminarians cannot afford to ignore him as they prepare to be preachers. He knew what a sermon was—"not a piece of logic, not a crystal, not a symphony, not an intellectual calisthenic, but the impassioned pleading of a human soul with human souls, that the earth may again give hospitality to God. If we take that passionate quality out of preaching, then it becomes a mockery and a sham."

It was this passionate pleading of love in Robert Norwood that drew great congregations and moved them so deeply. It is this quality in him that makes us, as we read these sermons, respond to him as a great Christian, whose very fury of eloquent feeling swept into the current of his preaching much flotsam and jetsam which doubtless he himself would have regretted had he possessed a more critical mind.

GEO. CRAIG STEWART.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

Old Testament, Judaism

The Church of Israel. By Robert Hatch Kennett. Edited with Int. by S. A. Cook. Cambridge University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1933, pp. lvi + 249. \$4.25.

The present volume of "Studies and Essays" is accompanied by a fine reproduction of Professor Kennett's photograph and an excellent introduction reviewing the life-work and main ideas of the late Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge. The essays included are the following: "Israel" (a revision of the article in Hastings' E. R. E.), "The Origin of the Book of Deuteronomy," "Sacrifice," "The Grammar of Old Testament Study," "Old Testament Parallels to Christ and the Gospels," "The Last Supper." The essay on "The Grammar of Old Testament Study" is a very fresh and vivid study of the meanings of certain important Hebrew words and of the problems involved in their translation.

As a whole the book is a fine tribute to a great scholar—a scholar who always trod his own path but who in several respects beat out new approaches to the history of Old Testament religion. The present volume includes three studies that have close bearing upon the New Testament. The attention of New Testament scholars should be called to these important essays.

Einleitung in die Psalmen. Part ii. By Hermann Gunkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1933, pp. viii + 464. Mk. 15:80, complete.

The late Professor Gunkel's Commentary on the Psalms now stands complete with its introductory volume. The first half of this volume has been in print for some time, and it was widely feared, when the news of Dr. Gunkel's death on March eleventh, 1932 became known, that the volume might never be completed. He had, however, continued to work upon the Introduction as long as possible, and his pen carried down through page 346. The book has been finished by Joachim Begrich, who shares fully the point of view of the author.

Gunkel's greatest contribution to the study of the Psalms is his classification of them into groups in accordance with their literary types, and the flood of light which he has opened up upon these various classes, studying their historical origins, background and meaning. The average reader will find a good exposition of Gunkel's view in the essay "The Religion of the Psalms" in his volume *What Remains of the Old Testament*, published in England in 1928. The reader familiar with German will find much help in Gunkel's beautiful little volume *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, of which the fourth edition appeared in 1917. These selected Psalms were translated by Gunkel and furnished with historical and literary interpretations and, indeed, a certain amount of devo-

tional comment. The book is one of the most beautiful of modern works on the Psalter and shows clearly the possibilities of the Form-Historical method of literary criticism as a foundation for religious, that is devotional and homiletic treatment.

This little volume was followed by the detailed commentary; now at least the Introduction is added, and the volume takes a place midway between the two. It is a very thorough and, as the Germans say, "ground-laying" treatise which every student of the Psalter will have to reckon with—to his profit—from now on.

Les Prophetes Messianiques de L'Ancien Testament. By Jean Brierre-Narbonne. Paris: Geuthner, 1933, pp. xviii + 105. Frs. 100.

The so-called "Messianic Prophecies" of the Old Testament are divided into groups and then printed in parallel columns with the passages from the New Testament containing their traditional fulfillment and also with comments from Talmudic literature. The work is carefully done and should be very helpful to those who are making a study of this Old Testament problem. F. A. M'E.

Notes on the Mythological Epic Texts from Ras Shamra. By James A. Montgomery. Pp. 97-123.

Reprint of a very important critical paper published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, liii. 2.

The Prophets and the Problems of Life. By Sidney A. Weston. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1932, pp. 207.

A very excellent manual for discussion of modern social problems in the light of the teaching of the Old Testament prophets. Some of the questions considered are: "Have I a right to be rich?" "Why are people poor?" There are eleven lessons, and in the hands of a competent teacher we believe this manual would be of very great value.

The Prophets of Israel. By S. Parkes Cadman. New York: Macmillan, 1933, pp. 274. \$3.25.

This is a series of brief essays on the individuals who make up the "goodly fellowship of the Prophets" of the Old Covenant, each essay being a short but clear summary of the career and message of an individual prophet. The author has made good and sensible use of the results of modern critical study. The distinguished portrait painter, Mr. Frank Salisbury, has provided beautiful illustrations, just as truly interpretative of the personalities concerned as is Sargent's famous frieze. It is commended particularly to laymen who are interested in biblical studies and also to Church School teachers whose courses deal with this period of Israel's history. F. A. M'E.

A History of Jewish Literature from the Close of the Bible to Our Own Day.
By Meyer Waxman. Vol. II. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1933,
pp. x + 698. \$4.00.

Dr Waxman is providing us with a very full account of the history of Jewish literature. The present volume covers the period from the twelfth century to the middle of the eighteenth. Many Gentile readers will no doubt be astonished at the wide range of this literature, covering grammar and lexicography, Bible exegesis, science, magic, history, geography, travel and autobiography, as well as Rabbinic literature, philosophy, theology, and apologetics.

It is quite evident that Mediaeval Jewish literature thrived mainly in the West. Persecution and oppression by Christians in the East stifled the spirit of Jewish literature in that region. Persecution was not less violent but only less successful in the West and it is significant that Arabic culture did not stimulate Jewish literature to any considerable extent. However, after the fall of Constantinople and the establishment of the Turkish Empire literary activity was stimulated among Jews in Turkey and Palestine.

The very full bibliography and index make this work valuable for reference.

New Testament

Codex 2400 and Its Miniatures. By Harold R. Willoughby. Pp. 74, illus.

Reprint of a descriptive magazine article which appeared in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. xv, No. 1 (1933), published by the College Art Association of America at the University of Chicago. Codex 2400—commonly known as the Rockefeller-McCormick manuscript—is a complete Byzantine New Testament, dating from the thirteenth century, with nearly a hundred brilliantly illuminated pages.

Professor Willoughby has already edited the Miniatures, and the present article gives a brief and more popular account of them. The beautifully prepared reprint (printed in Italy) forms a notable addition to the material in this field now available to students of Iconography as well as of New Testament manuscripts.

Das Neue Testament deutsch. Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus. By Joachim Jeremias. *Der Brief an die Hebräer.* By Hermann Strathmann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1934, pp. 144. M. 4.95.

Dr. Jeremias' treatment of the Pastorals tends toward traditionalism. On the whole he accepts Pauline authorship, but he makes no attempt to define the place that these Epistles occupy in the development of church life. The result is unsatisfactory. Dr. Strathmann's Hebrews, on the other hand is soundly competent. The great temptation of commentators on this work—to discover more in the text than is actually there—is resolutely resisted, and the exposition is straightforward and clear. He prefers an Italian destination and inclines toward finding warnings against Judaizing, although he accepts a date in the 80's.

B. S. E.

Theologisches Wörterbuch Zum Neuen Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933, pp. 705-793 + xii + 24, and pp. 1-64 and 65-128. M. 2.90 each.

Volume I of Professor Kittel's new *Word Book for the New Testament* is now complete, and Volume II has been carried as far as diathêkê. The first of the present installments includes the title page and Preface to the work with Introduction to Volume I and the Glossary of Abbreviations.

The authors of this Word Book are scholars of first rank, and their articles provide a collection of material for modern historical exegesis which is quite indispensable.

Doctrine

The Nature of Revelation. By Nathan Söderblom. Tr. by Frederic E. Pamp. Int. by Edward C. Moore. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. xv + 205. \$2.00.

The late Archbishop Söderblom was one of the most scholarly and most influential ecclesiastics in Europe. Before his elevation he was Professor of History of Religions in the University of Upsala, and was the author of a number of important books on the origin and development of religion. The present work, finely translated now a year after the Archbishop's death, was first published in 1903.

The main thesis of the work is that every religion is a "religion of revelation"—not just in the sense that it claims to be based upon revelation, but actually does reveal God. In brief, as its author maintained in a saying from his death-bed: "There is a living God. I can prove it by the history of religions." It is not often that the history of religions is treated from so positive a point of view. Too often the study of the history of religions leads to a kind of reduction to the lowest common denominator, and to a purely critical attitude toward one's own specific inherited religion. Söderblom's book provides a thorough corrective to the attitude.

The Council of Trent and Anglican Formularies. By H. Edward Symonds. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. xv + 227. \$3.75.

One more book on the Articles—this one not attempting to interpret them in terms of conformity with modern theological scholarship but rather to show their consonance with the doctrinal formulæ of the Council of Trent. Father Symonds is a priest of the Community of the Resurrection and is thoroughly familiar with Anglican and Roman theology. The book was undertaken at the bidding of Dr Frere who was at that time Superior of the Community and a member of the Malines Conference. It begins with the dogmatic decrees and canons of the Council and compares with them not only the corresponding statements in the Articles, but any relevant doctrine expressed or implied in the Prayer Book or in the Canons of the English Church. Further, Divines of the seventeenth century whose works are to be found in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* have been utilized for purposes of interpretation. The author maintains that if a ground of agreement had only been found in the

sixteenth century, Europe and the Church would have been spared the dissension and disunity which have followed. It is his hope to find and make clear much of that common ground which still remains. Moreover, he insists that Anglicans are not bound by the opinions of the English Reformers but only by the explicit formularies of the Church.

If we are ever to see the outward unity of the Church restored it must undoubtedly include Rome. Unsatisfactory, therefore, as the point of view of this book will seem to some Anglicans, it is indispensable for purposes of historical research or of practical reconstruction, and it deserves the most careful consideration of scholars.

Radio Talks on Religion. Ed. by Leonard Hodgson. Int. by Charles Fiske. Morehouse, 1934, two vols., xiv + 181 and vii + 165. \$1.75 each.

Two volumes of broadcasted addresses on religion published in England under the title *God and the World Through Christian Eyes*. Volumes of English sermons republished in America are not always up to top level, and one wonders sometimes how they ever came to be published. But when the scholars of the English Church speak out it is quite a different matter. These brief addresses are all on fundamental theology and religious subjects: God, Christ, Man and His World, and Christianity. Brief as they are they sum up clearly and positively the teaching of the Church in terms of modern scholarship. They are simple and readable and ought to have a wide circulation in this country as well as in Britain. One needs only to name a few of the authors to indicate the solidity and authority of the volumes: Archbishop Temple (*What Does Man Know of God?*), Dr. Edwyn Bevan (*The History of Our Knowledge of God*), Miss Maude Royden (*God and the World of Art*), Archdeacon Rawlinson (*Jesus of Nazareth*), Dean Inge (*Christ and Human Conduct*), Professor Webb (*Man and Morality*), Father Thornton (*Man and Social Order*).

Without relying unduly upon the applicability of labels one might say that the outlook of the volumes is "Liberal Catholic"; and though not all of the authors are members of the Church of England, the point of view is more or less Anglican, and illustrates beautifully the steady progress that is being made in the direction of a common point of view on the part of orthodox churchmen and thinkers.

The Meaning of Right and Wrong. By Richard C. Cabot. Macmillan, 1933, pp. x + 463. \$3.00.

The author of "What Men Live By" has placed us all under great obligation by writing this book on ethics. His treatment is original and somewhat unconventional which is what that field of investigation needs these days. He has abandoned to a great extent the use of familiar ethical terms and by the keenness of his analysis, particularly of the devices of self-deceit, he has made a real contribution to ethical studies. In addition, he has, by insisting that life is made up of agreements into which we enter, broadened the field of ethical

application. It was most refreshing and stimulating to read this book and it is a really valuable addition to our modern treatises on right thinking and living.

F. A. M'E.

Church History

Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries. Ed. with an int. by M. M. Knappen. Chicago: American Society of Church History, 5757 University Avenue, 1933, pp. xiii + 148. \$3.00.

In the second volume of *Studies in Church History*, Professor Knappen edits these diaries from manuscript as illustrations of the Puritan temper, with its morbid introspectiveness and its habitual self-accusation. They are illuminating documents for the psychologist of religion no less than for the historian. Richard Rogers was a thorough nonconformist Puritan, facing always the displeasure of ecclesiastical authority; Samuel Ward, a Puritan with considerable reservation, since he could conform without difficulty to the Church and received no little preferment. His conscience smote him with conviction of the sin of avarice, yet he apparently did nothing about it.

Dr. Knappen's delineation of the Puritan character contains some acute observations, not the least important being criticisms corrective of the theories of Troeltsch and Max Weber.

Legends of Our Lady Mary, the Perpetual Virgin, and Her Mother Hannâ. By E. A. Wallis Budge. Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. lxxv + 314. \$3.25.

One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary. By the same author. Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. lviii + 355. \$4.25.

These volumes containing legends translated from Ethiopic manuscripts, for the most part in the British Museum and illustrated by ancient Ethiopic artists, were first published ten years ago and issued by the Medici Society. The present cheap edition has been issued by the Oxford University Press. The volumes are printed from the plates of the first edition. A companion volume, *The Queen of Sheba*, has already appeared.

There is no end of stories and legends of the kind contained in these two volumes, and those here contained are but a selection. They will illustrate, however, the hagiography of one branch of the Eastern Church and are not without interest to anyone concerned with Christian tradition and literature. Many of the legends made their way from Ethiopia to Europe or from Europe to Ethiopia and hence are to be found in more than one language. Dr Budge gives many of the parallels in French and Latin. The student interested in the history of Mariolatry will find here much material to his hand. Dr Budge provides suggestions for this study also, as in the volume of *Legends* he gives an account of "The Worship of the Virgin Mary in Egypt and Ethiopia" and compares the Cult of Isis with that of the Virgin.

Interesting as some of these stories are, one cannot help but be thankful that ecclesiastical fiction is now on a somewhat different level than it was in the Middle Ages.

Yarnall Library of Theology of St Clement's Church, Philadelphia. Compiled by Joseph Cullen Ayer. Philadelphia: 1933, pp. viii + 334.

The Yarnall Library was established not as a parish library but for the use of the clergy and other students and was intended to provide works in ecclesiastical history and theology which were not otherwise available in Philadelphia. It now contains over nine thousand volumes, and the published catalogue is of very great bibliographical interest and value to students of Church History.

Corpus Confessionum. Edited by Cajus Fabricius. Lfg. 24. Berlin: DeGruyter, 1934, pp. 401-480. M. 7.

Continuation of Dr Fabricius' enormous project of publishing all the Confessions of the Christian Churches. The present volume gives the unrevised English Prayer Book, in English and German in parallel columns; the Homily on Salvation—which the editor thinks it necessary to add since the Thirty-nine Articles contain no explicit *Rechtfertigungslehre*; and also the Constitutions and Canons of 1603 as amended in 1865.

Langue et Style de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze dans sa correspondance. By Paul Gallay. Paris: Librairie J. Monnier, 1933, pp. 111.

This work of M. Gallay, which is one of the *Collection de Philologie Classique* series, is a detailed study of the morphology, syntax, and style of St. Gregory's letters, written with great appreciation and affection for the fourth century saint. As might be expected, the Cappadocian's language is Attic, with a number of *koiné* elements which even the most sophisticated of classicists could not escape; however, he wears his Atticism well, and it is an ornament rather than a burden. It is to be hoped that the present volume will stimulate patristic study; the great Cappadocians especially are altogether too much neglected. M. Gallay gives word-lists, somewhat in the method of Schmid's great *Die Atticismus*, but he nowhere refers to this work. A comparison of St. Gregory's style with that of the pagan writers studied in *Die Atticismus* would have been enlightening, since from a literary point of view he is their logical successor.

S. E. J.

Florilegium Patristicum. Edited by Bernh. Geyer and Joh. Zillinger.

Fasc. xxxv. S. Aurelii Augustini. . . . Textus Eucharistici Selecti; ed. by H. Lang. Bonn: Hanstein, 1933, pp. 73. RM 3.

Fasc. xxxvi. S. Alberti Magni *Quaestiones de bono* (Summa de bono, sq. 1-10); ed. by H. Kühle, 1933, pp. 53. RM 2.50.

The series called *Florilegium Patristicum* continues to provide some of the best Patristic and Mediaeval texts, well edited, and in convenient form for use in the study of Ecclesiastical Latin or History of Doctrine. Special attention is paid to textual variants and to allusions and citations. The preface to Fasc. 36 gives a good account of the manuscripts of the treatise.

Geschichte der katholischen Theologie seit dem Ausgang der Väterzeit. By Martin Grabmann. St. Louis: Herder, 1933, pp. xiii + 368. \$3.00.

Professor Grabmann is one of our greatest authorities on scholastic philosophy and theology. He has taken the old *History of Theology* of M. J. Scheeben (Freiburg, 1879) and rewritten it. The result is a history of Catholic theology from the period of the Fathers which forms a splendid continuation of Professor Altaner's edition of Rauschen's *Patrologie*. Both are volumes in Herder's series of *Theological Outlines*.

In a history of a period as extensive as the present one compressed within less than three hundred and fifty pages it is not surprising that many chapters are little more than lists of authors with a note or two on each name. However, Professor Grabmann is not unable to see the forest for the trees; and although the book is scarcely one for light reading it does provide a capital reference work and enables the reader to recognize the main outlines of the development of Roman Catholic theology down to the present day. As was also to be expected, he is especially good when treating the Mediæval schools, and draws the main lines of distinction between them clearly and forcefully.

The Christian Mission in the Modern World. By William David Schermerhorn. Abingdon Press, 1933, pp. 360. Maps. \$2.50.

It seems to be inevitable that histories of missions should be written on a geographical plan, with attention focused on the agencies operating and the work being done in the various "fields." Such a treatment gives a massive impression of world-wide missionary endeavor and supplies the statistical information we want to have at hand. Professor Schermerhorn's volume is as fine, comprehensive, and up-to-the-minute as any book following this plan could well be. For each of his finely divided areas he gives us a succinct sketch of its historical background and of the specific problems which condition missionary activity within it. He has thus avoided the temptation to tell the history of missions *in vacuo*. He has produced an extremely serviceable encyclopedia of the spread of Christianity in modern times. But in so doing he has restricted to a few pages the thrilling story of the rise and fluctuations of the missionary spirit, its heroisms, and its increasing complexity of operation. The reviewer may be allowed to express the wish that Dr. Schermerhorn might give us a second volume, written from the point of view of the home-base in Europe and America, avoiding as much as possible the geographical method save by way of illustration. We have need of such an approach.

There is an excellent and detailed bibliography.

N.

Pastoral Theology

Discipleship. By Leslie D. Weatherhead. Abingdon Press, 1934, pp. 152. \$1.00.

This is an extremely helpful book on personal religion, in which the author seeks, by analysis, to discover what Christian discipleship implies. The headings of the chapters are, in a number of cases, the watch-words of the Oxford

Groups; but the technique of that movement is not discussed. There are certain aspects of the devotional life that are not touched upon and which Anglicans will miss but in spite of that the practicality of the book makes it wonderfully useful.

F. A. M'E.

Watchers by the Cross. By Peter Green. Longmans-Green, 1934, pp. xi + 104. \$1.50.

Another series of addresses on the "Seven Words." There is a large amount of material packed into a small space, and we agree with the author that those who use it, either to read to others or to read for personal meditation had better divide each address into smaller sections. Used in that way the book should be very helpful.

F. A. M'E.

The Awakening of St. Timothy's League. By William A. Lillycrop. Morehouse, 1933, pp. 59. \$1.00.

For a good many folk the presentation of a plan in concrete story form rather than in an abstract discussion of principles and methods is helpful. To all such who are interested in young people's work this little book is commended.

F. A. M'E.

Report of the Oxford Movement Centenary Congress of 1933. Edited by George Gillett. Morehouse, 1933, pp. xvii + 194. \$1.75.

This report consists of the papers read and sermons and addresses delivered at the Centenary meeting of the Anglo-Catholic Congress held in England last summer. As in all such collections, the contributions are of unequal merit. The papers which purport to be historical are not as careful of their statements as they should be, while those of an ethical or inspirational character are excellent. One is glad to note that the Congress is turning to the consideration of questions which are distinctly more fundamental in character.

F. A. M'E.

The Teaching Parson and His People. By John Reginald Lumb. London: S. P. C. K., 1933, pp. vii + 184. \$1.50.

An excellent discussion of the methods of a "teaching ministry." While primarily intended for the clergy of the Church of England it has a great many practical hints which are valuable for the American parish priest. It is helpful to see such an emphasis placed upon the need of teaching in pastoral work.

F. A. M'E.

My Thank You Book. By Lola C. Palmer and Leon C. Palmer. Morehouse, 1933, pp. 48. 25 cents.

This is one of four quarterly booklets in Christian living, a course of religious and moral training for little children in kindergarten and primary grades. It is very well planned, pedagogically correct and practically adaptable. A series of excellent colored pictures is furnished with each quarterly.

F. A. M'E.

A Map of Life. By F. J. Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1933, pp. 147. \$1.25.

This is a small hand-book on Christian doctrine intended for the Roman Catholic laity. It is simply written, does not go into difficult questions in any detail and can be helpful in a limited fashion to those for whom it is written.

F. A. M'E.

The Catholic Rule of Life. By Kenneth D. Mackenzie. Morehouse, 1933, pp. x + 122. \$1.25.

We need suggestions in the Anglican Communion as to a normal rule of life for our communicants but no manual which spends as much time as this does on discussion as to the bearing of mediaeval canon law on the practice of the average Churchman will produce much fruitage. When the authority that lies behind a certain group of canons has been definitely rejected as binding, it is futile to quote that law. Every single practice which the author urges can be proven to be helpful and practicable but the attempt to make it of obligation will not only defeat the purpose but tend to make people question the helpfulness of the practice.

F. A. M'E.

The Christian Year for Schools and the Isolated. By J. deB. Saunderson Morehouse, 1933. Cloth \$1.50, Paper \$1.25.

This is a course of instruction based on the Epistles and Gospels intended primarily for work among the isolated. It is very well planned and should be practical. The questions and references need to be checked in the interests of accurate scholarship and interpretation.

F. A. M'E.

The Way of Calvary. By Charles W. Carver. Morehouse, 1934, pp. 31. 5c

A very beautiful compilation of devotions for the three-hour service on Good Friday.

Altar Stairs. By Joseph Fort Newton. Macmillan, 1934, pp. xi + 205. \$2.00.

A reissue of Dr Newton's "Little Book of Prayer" first published in 1928. Very beautiful and earnest and covering a wide range of topics.

Imagination and Religion. By Lindsay Dewar. Morehouse, 1933, pp. viii + 167. \$1.50.

Canon Dewar has supplemented the fine *Manual of Pastoral Psychology* which he and Canon Hudson have written with this fascinating study of the place of imagination in daily life, in the Bible, in pastoral work, and in various religious movements, past and present. The volume is not, however, merely a supplement; it prepares the way for another volume the author promises us, to be called *The Priest as Spiritual Physician*—a volume that will be very widely welcomed.

The present volume beside showing the place and importance of imagination in daily life explains the ceremonial of Anglo-Catholicism and shows its value from a psychological point of view. This ceremonial is in most cases the age-old traditional ceremony of religion in the Catholic Church and has behind it a profound sanity and naturalness. At the same time of course it is not the *only* tradition in Western Christianity, and it might be possible to write a book showing the naturalness of an imaginative religious life, rich and wholesome, which made little use of "full Catholic ceremonial."

Outline Addresses for the Three Hours Devotion. By Marcus Donovan. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1934, pp. 98. 85 cents.

Contains ten sets of addresses, quite varied in character, and all of such sort as to prove useful to those who, for one reason or another, desire assistance in preparing their Good Friday meditations. Its wide latitude of choice makes the little book the more valuable. N.

What is the Oxford Group? By a Layman with a Notebook. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. 127. \$1.25.

This is an anonymous exposition of the principles and practice of what is unfortunately and confusedly known as the Oxford Group Movement. It is straight forward and simple in its presentation and does not have that "holier than thou" attitude which spoils a good deal of the literature of this movement. The reviewer does not think that a detailed criticism of this movement is called for in this place. The principles which it teaches are recognized as fundamental Christian principles but the matter of method and of promotion is another thing altogether. Such movements are divisive in their effects and so fail to be as helpful as their motives and principles should make them. F. A. M'E.

The Catholic Revival and the Kingdom of God. Morehouse, 1934, pp. 152. 75 cents.

The official publication of the addresses and papers delivered at the Sixth Catholic Congress of the Episcopal Church held in Philadelphia last October in commemoration of the Catholic Revival.

New Tracts for New Times. Morehouse, 1933 and following, pp. 17, 13, 16. 10 cents each.

The New Tracts are a series of papers designed to arouse the Church to the need of a sound Catholic sociology for the solution of the problems of the day. They are attractively printed and deal with vital questions. The first three are "The Call to Action On the Part of the Church" by the Rev. Julian D. Hamlin; "The End of Our Era" by the Rev. W. G. Peck; "The Sacred Humanity" by the Rev. Daniel Arthur McGregor. Other projected titles are "The Early Church and Society," "Divine Economics" and "Is Religion the Opium of the People?"

Back of the projected series is a very strong editorial committee, headed by Dr Frank Gavin and including Father Hamlin, Spencer Miller, Jr., Mary K. Simkhovitch, Clifford Morehouse and Dr Daniel Arthur McGregor—than which there are few more ardently socially minded Churchmen among us. The series will surely attract wide attention, and we trust will make a real contribution to Christian social thinking in the present confused time.

Mixed Pasture. By Evelyn Underhill. Longmans Green, 1933, pp. xii + 233. \$2.00.

A collection of twelve essays and addresses by the ever interesting writer on mysticism. The volume is divided into three parts, Principles, Practice, and Personalities. Under the first are three papers, The Philosophy of Contemplation, What is Sanctity, and Spiritual Life. Under Practice are five papers, mostly on social reform and including one on the spiritual significance of the Oxford Movement. The last four papers deal with St Francis, Richard the Hermit, Walter Hilton, and Baron von Hügel. The book has the wide range of all Miss Underhill's writings. Hers is a very practical mysticism, not the kind that is lost in inarticulate contemplation. For example, there is a very quotable passage at the end of the paper on "The Ideals of the Ministry of Women." It is the advice given by the saintly Abbé Huvelin to an extremely busy lady engaged in religious activities: "Madame, distrust your own zeal for doing good to others."

The Armaments Racket. By P. E. T. Widrington. Morehouse, 1933, pp. 26. 25 cents.

Reprint of two striking articles in *The Living Church*; supplies ample evidence to show that certain armaments manufacturers have been involved in the production and prolonging of international wars.

Direction In Prayer: Studies in Ascetic Method. Edited by Patrick Thompson. Morehouse, 1933, pp. xv + 215. \$1.50.

This book, with an introduction by Bishop Booth, contains eight articles, chiefly by members of the Society of Retreat Conductors. The three Parts deal successively with "The Theory of Prayer," "Some Methods of Prayer" and "Direction in Prayer." There is an appendix on "How To Teach Children to Pray."

The table of contents arouses higher hopes than the contents fulfill. Under the heading of "The Dogmatic Basis" we find fifteen pages devoted chiefly to urging the importance of prayer, and throwing little light on the underlying questions as to the nature of God and His relation to man and to the world, which must form the background for any theory of prayer. Twenty-two pages are given to a necessarily superficial sketch of the theory and practice of prayer "From the Time of Our Lord to the Present Day," devoted almost exclusively to contemplative prayer, without any adequate recognition of what Heiler has made familiar under the title of prophetic prayer. The larger part of the book

is given to a résumé of the methods of prayer developed by the great Catholic "directors," less detailed than the description in Bede Frost's *Art of Mental Prayer*. The most valuable section is that dealing with "Direction in Prayer" for souls in different stages of development—"believing souls," "good Christian souls," "devout souls," "fervent souls."

In general the reviewer feels that the book tends to fall between two stools. For those familiar with the literature of prayer it is too slight. They will gain more from a major treatise such as that of Heiler or from the reading of the classical authorities much quoted here. For the uninstructed and the "gropers," on the other hand, the language of this book is too traditional and technical, and little is done to translate the great tradition into language understood by men of our own time.

A. D.

A Short History of Christian Marriage. By Marguerite Howse. Morehouse, 1933, p. 40. 20 cents.

A very useful pamphlet written in connection with courses on preparation for marriage in the Diocese of Southwark. The author is familiar with modern anthropological studies, holds no brief for primitive monogamy, but points out clearly the way in which the ideal of marriage has steadily advanced through the centuries, culminating in the teaching of our Lord. The author quite properly insists that Baptism is essential to a Christian marriage, but is not quite so clear on the content of the Christian ideal. There are, for example, one or two statements (e.g. pp. 33 and 36) which are altogether too negative and are really quite inadequate. However, the pamphlet will surely be a useful one, and it is to be hoped that before another edition is published these slight imperfections may be removed.

Homiletics

The School of Charity. By Evelyn Underhill. Longmans, 1934, pp. xiii + 111. \$1.00.

Another of the Bishop of London's Lenten books. This time an exposition of the creed by one of the leading English authorities on mysticism. "The first part of the book deals with the ruling fact of religion, the Reality and Nature of God; the second with the way that Reality and Nature are revealed within human life, and we lay hold of them; the third, with the kind of life they demand from us, and make possible."

The author has a real and vital message for her readers, and there is hardly a page that does not contain something worth quoting. It is to be hoped that the volume will have the wide circulation that it deserves, not only in England but also here.

Gathered Together. By C. A. Ault. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1933, pp. viii + 172. \$1.40.

This is a collection of stories, illustrations and analogies for preachers. These represent wide reading and a great range of subjects. For example, "A man once said to Charles Wesley, 'My religion is a private matter between

God and myself.' 'If that is the case, sir,' he replied, 'it is not the Christian religion'" (p. 45)—or this from St. Vincent de Paul, "We should at least spend as much time in thanking God for His favours as we have spent in asking for them" (p. 157).

Outline Sermons for the Church's Year. By Marcus Donovan and C. T. Kirtland. Morehouse, 1933, pp. 154. \$1.60.

How do they do it? That is, (1) How do preachers bring themselves to publish their outlines? (2) How do publishers manage to make any money selling such books? (3) How does anyone bring himself to read, use, or risk being caught dead with someone else's sermon outlines in his possession?

Vital Control. By Lynn Harold Hough. Abingdon Press, 1934, pp. 260. \$2.00.

A collection of essays about men, books, and institutions from the point of view of a humanism that is quite willing to admit that God is the noblest work of Man. The author distinguishes two types of humanist, one of which does, and the other of which does not, include the supernatural as a factor in human progress. He prefers the former, though what the *supernatural* is to be construed to involve he is not at pains to define. Anyhow, the drama of life appears to be played out entirely on a mundane stage. In the essay *Sin and Salvation in an Age of Science and Machinery* he sums it up thus: "Sin in the terms of such an age is the use of machinery in such a fashion as to rob men of their humanity. . . . In other words, at first and at last and all the time sin is the refusal of free and developing critical intelligence to accept and make the most of its own powers. . . . And so the solution of the moral problem of man involves the personal action of the supreme intelligence of the universe meeting human intelligence upon its own level of passion and pain." The author is a distinguished Methodist preacher and professor of homiletics in Drew University; and this is the sort of religious teaching that appears to be the present mode in American Protestantism. C. L. D.

Yea and Nay. By G. H. Clayton. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1933, pp. 88. \$1.00.

It is amazing to see how parsons in England keep on publishing these little books of commonplace sermons. People must buy them and read them else they wouldn't be printed. Here for example are ten little Sunday evening addresses delivered in Chesterfield Parish Church and doubtless excellently adapted for that congregation. They are short and they are good, but—I shall not say they are Chesterfieldian; that would mean something smart and elegant—but they are distinctly parochial. Some of them appeared in the *Church Times*; in my opinion that was enough. There is nothing to justify their export overseas in book form. After all in these days of enforced economy, a dollar must be made to go a long way, and even with the present worth of a dollar we cannot announce the volume as a "good buy." G. C. S.

Miscellaneous

The Midnight Mass. By Winfred Douglas. Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. x + 82. \$2.00.

Canon Douglas' beautiful volume of poems and translations has come as a surprise to many who were aware of his other accomplishments, but did not know that the Canon is a poet as well. Most of them are written in the two great major keys of the love of God and the love of God's self-manifestation in the world of nature. A wholesome vigor pervades the poems, fresh and stimulating like the breezes that blow down from the everlasting Colorado hills round about his beloved Evergreen.

The Poems of John Donne. Edited by H. J. C. Grierson. Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. lvi + 404. \$1.50.

All lovers of Donne's poetry or of seventeenth century English literature in general will welcome this new edition based upon the larger edition which was published in 1912. It is interesting to note that many of the corrections introduced into this edition are the result of the criticism of an American, Professor Belden of the University of Missouri. As a result of the combined work of Professor Grierson in Edinburgh and Professor Belden in Missouri, we have the best available text at the present time.

Bound in blue and appearing in the series of 'Oxford Standard Authors,' the volume makes a fit companion to Professor L. P. Smith's *Donne's Sermons: Selected Passages*, published at the Clarendon Press in 1920.

The Living Church Annual, 1934. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1933, pp. xx + 672, ill. \$1.50.

The Morehouse Publishing Company of Milwaukee place the entire Church in their debt once a year when they bring out the indispensable *Living Church Annual*. Its calendar, its Annual Cyclopaedia, the lists of Bishops and personnel of organizations, its diocesan data, its general clergy list, as well as the advertisements for leading schools and church supply houses, make it one of the most useful of books. No clergyman's study or office is complete without it.

Something Beyond: A Life Story. By A. F. Webling. New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. 277. \$2.00.

This is one of the most charmingly written autobiographies we have read in some time. It is the story of a priest who began life as a mercantile clerk in London, went to night school, took the matric examinations at the University of London, went on and studied for the ministry, became an Anglican, was ordained, came under the influence of a very dear friend who persuaded him to become an Anglo-Catholic, lost his friend and his Anglo-Catholic faith, was swept over to the opposite extreme of Modernism, and finally became deeply interested in Psychical Research. Here is a spiritual and intellectual Odyssey beside which the common run of confessions of converts to Rome pale in in-

terest. The author is now a country parson in a remote village in the south of England, and he looks back over his life and finds in it much that was good in spite of temporary bitterness and mental upheaval. The publishers are not far wrong in saying that the book "gives an intimate picture of Anglo-Catholicism at its best and worst." The Anglo-Catholic portion of the book is presented with deep sympathy and understanding. It was a faith the author abandoned only with tears and heartbreak, though the reasons for his abandonment of this faith were, for him, both adequate and cogent. The kind of men who drove him out of the Catholic Movement have no business in any religious organization.

Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen. Erstes Heft des Jubiläumjahrganges 1933. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz. Pp. 232.

This Journal celebrates its Jubilee with an issue containing a rich variety of articles: one on Greek fragments of St. Paul's letters in a Munich palimpsest, another on "Some newer responsibilities of American Librarians." We wish it many centuries of progress. A. H. F.

Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique: Doctrine et Histoire. Ed. by Marcel Viller, ass. by F. Cavallera et J. DeGuibert. Fasc. ii, Allemande-Anglaise. Paris, Beauchesne, 1933, Coll. 321-640. Fr. 20.

The second installment of the new French Dictionary of Spirituality begins in the midst of the article on Germany and carries down part way through the article on English, Scotch, and Irish spirituality—arriving at the fourteenth century. There are a number of important articles in the fascicule. Aside from biographical articles there are those on *Ame*, on *Américanisme* and *Anges*.